31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India

Telugu AW17

KISTNA DISTRICT.

VUNAGATLA.

[*By K. S. Narayana Murti, Christian College, Madras.*]

Vunagatla, in the Yernagudem taluk of the Kistna district, is an
361 upland village, four miles distant from Nidadavolu, an important
centre of railway and river traffic. On one side it is bounded
by the high road from Nidadavolu to the Gōdāvari Agency, on
the other by a great sandy tract filled with palmyra trees. The
132 climate is extreme, the unbearable heat of summer being followed
by the excessive rains of the rainy season, and the extreme
cold of winter. It is a purely dry village, depending entirely on the
annual rains.

Population.—The population has been increasing steadily since
161 the first census.

Census.	Population.	Census.	Population.
1871	1,237	1901	2,150
1881	1,567	1911	2,519
1891	2,017		

Brahmans and Vaisyas are increasing, and so are the Sudras, who are temperate and simple and hardy in habits. The rate of mortality is high among the Pariahs and washermen and other low castes.

The official figures of births and deaths cannot be entirely
163 relied on. They are, for 1911—15, as follows:—

Births.

Year.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1911	33	52	85
1912	55	49	104
1913	49	49	98
1914	48	52	100
1915	41	52	93

226 254

165 *Deaths.*

Year.	Cholera.	Small-pox.	Fevers.	Respiratory diseases.	Other causes	Men.	Women.	Children under 14.	Total.
1911	226	...	42	...	28	71	88	137	296
1912	...	...	48	...	47	30	24	41	95
1913	...	...	62	3	2	18	20	29	67
1914	6	8	62	4	18	33	40	25	98
1915	...	112	41	17	13	53	49	81	183

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● 165 The figures for deaths are in general accurate, according to information collected in the village, with the exception of the deaths in the cholera epidemic of 1911 and the small-pox epidemic of 1915. In the latter, according to non-official information between 80 and 85 children died, and 160 persons in all. The record of births appears to be very defective.

162 By the 1911 census there were 396 homesteads; there are now 430 to 440, there being many recent extensions of the inhabited village into the fields on the north and south.

An approximate statement of the population according to caste is as follows:—

	Adults.	Children.
Brahmans	25	13
Vaisyas	55	40
Sudras, Kammas	225	220
„ Kapus	275	240
Carpenters and silversmiths	33	24
Weavers	26	22
Barbers	10	4
Washermen	100	150
Toddy-tappers	283	305
Shepherds	52	33
Potters	4	2
Muhammadans	5	1
Oil-mongers	11	5

Land.

311

	Acres.
Wet land	Nil.
Dry land, cultivated	1,545·27
Land watered by wells	7·40
Common waste	145·36
Pasture other than common waste	415·82

Most of the land is cultivated by the pattadar, but 226 acres are sublet to tenants. There are about 350 agricultural workers who neither own nor rent land.

241 The following are the principal crops:—

	Acres.
Paddy	166·39
Cholam	468·88
Kambu	73·68
Gingelly	194·74
Horsegram	151·34
Ragi	...
Chodi	1·90
Korra	6·10
Chillis	0·67
Jute	1·80
Tobacco	1·34

651 Land is assessed for revenue at the following rates:—

	Per acre.		
	RS.	A.	P.
Best black clay	1	12	0
Best black loam	1	10	0
Best red loam	1	10	0
Best red sand	0	10	0

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426 poorer classes, when they find that their debts have overgrown their income, generally hand over their lands to the lenders of money.

167 Emigrants leave the village for two reasons:—(1) indebtedness and (2) want of sufficient work and means of living. As previously stated two families of weavers have gone to Rajahmundry for factory work, and one family of Komatis to the Gōdāvari Agency. Some of the Panchamas and toddy drawers go to Rangoon, Moulmein, Singapore, and formerly went to Natal and the Transvaal. They return at the end of 1½ or 2 years. Some have made a little profit by going out, but not much. One effect of such emigration is to prevent people from lending money freely to all. The poorer classes do not get loans so easily now for want of security.

164 *Sanitary condition.*—There is no malaria. Six years ago there was a heavy attack of cholera, the number of deaths being between 150 and 200. It was impossible to keep any accurate account. Two years ago there was a serious attack of smallpox, when about 160 adults and children together died. It is significant that among Brahmans not a single person was attacked by either of these diseases. Among the Vaisyas the number of deaths was 5 and 3, respectively, among the Sudras it was 50 from cholera, 60 from small-pox. All the rest of the cases were in the lower castes. The death-rate of the children was far greater than that of adults.

165 The village statistics show 480 children born in the five years from 1911 to 1915, 321 under 14 years of age dying during these 759 years. The record of births is probably very defective, but the rate of mortality among infants and young children is certainly terribly high. There is no effective medical assistance available. The quack doctors of the village are merely deceitful and ignorant and practice the trade with no schooling or knowledge. Men following various occupations, who do not earn much at their proper calling, are the doctors of the village, who administer red or black powders to the patient one after another, call the fever this and that, starve the patient for 15 or 20 days, keep him in comfortable delusions all the while, and having made up 20 or 30 rupees send him to an untimely grave. The villagers prefer to entrust their lives to these doctors than to risk them in the hands of an English trained doctor. The hospital assistant near by has not won a good name for English medicine.

The wife of the barber is the nurse for all cases of pregnancy, and the general authority on all cases of feminine complaints.

758 For want of education, people do not observe the elementary principles of sanitation. For instance in times of epidemic diseases they do not isolate patients. They spread the disease by cleaning all kinds of cloth in village tanks. They do not reveal the disease immediately after the attack. They keep the patients in crowded houses and move and eat and sleep very close to them. Even for ordinary fevers, the patient is starved for 5 or 6 days, so that he will be weak and useless for work for a number of days afterwards.

511 The poorer classes are often subjected to disease for want of 356 healthy and sufficient food, and clean surroundings. Every poor man has two or three cattle at least; and their huts being crowded, with limited space, it happens generally that the cattle are kept

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166 **INTERNAL MIGRATION**--shifting of residence between communities and districts within the society; organized resettlement; trends toward redistribution of the population; etc. See also

Seasonal migrations	221
Degree of permanence or impermanence of settlements	361
Travel	484
Rule of residence in marriage	591

614 sexual union of any type between the two is regarded as a kind of incest. It has already been pointed out that these units have no functions beyond those mentioned above and have no common organization, authority or ceremonial distinctively belonging to them.

564 Although in general we can regard Shamirpet as fairly representative of Telangana villages, some Telugu-speaking castes which play an important part in rural Telangana are not to be found in the village; and it will be perhaps advantageous to make a passing reference to some of these castes here. The Velma are a rich agricultural caste more or less equal in status to the Reddis. The Kamma are another caste of the Kapu group who inter-dine with the Reddi, but they are regarded as equals of the lower clean caste groups. The Balja traders are Shaivite Hindus whose status is regarded as being a little higher than that of the Komti. The Gandla works the oil press, and his status is similar to that of the Sale and the Gaondla. The Yenadi, who in some parts of Telangana act as village guards, are in status equal to the Erkala. The Lambada provide a colourful though somewhat alien element in the population of Telangana. In language, dress and ornament they stand out from the rest of the people of Telangana. Their northern origin is clear both from their physical appearance and from their [291] language. The dress of the Lambada woman is picturesque. Her multi-coloured skirt (*lahanga*), tight bodice (*choli*) and upper covering (*odhni*) are elaborately embroidered and worked with [301] appliquéd mirror. Her ornaments are heavy and distinctive, and their tinkling sound lends an air of romance to the dusty roads of the countryside. There is a Lambada settlement some six miles from Shamirpet and they are a common sight on the nearby road.

564 •161 463 Mention should also be made of three wandering caste groups—the Balsantanam, the Sharda-galu and the Dasari. The Balsantanam live in small, low, portable huts and move from village to village. They weave mats, sing songs and legends, and beg from village cultivators. The Sharda-galu are professional story-tellers and earn their livelihood by reciting the legends of their vast repertoire. Similarly, the Dasari are country dramatists who contribute towards the entertainment of the villagers by performing folk plays. Members of many of the castes mentioned above make occasional appearances in Shamirpet.

596 178 166 • 369 / In the organization of the family the changed conditions and changing attitudes of the people have brought about some significant variations. It is difficult to present it statistically, but it could generally be said that in recent years the cohesion of the family has suffered on account of the growth of the spirit of individualism. Thereby family solidarity has been adversely affected. The people no longer have the same attachment for the soil of their settlement, and consequently mobility has increased. Among the younger people, especially among those who have had some education or urban contacts, the desire to go to the city is manifesting itself on an increasing scale. In making records of the biographies and general attitudes of the people, the contrast in the attitudes of the two steps of people emerged clearly. [212] While the elderly and the middle-aged, mostly illiterate, complained about the inconveniences of village life, they still regarded it as the only way of life possible for *them*. On the other hand, the younger people seemed to idealize the city and its numerous attractions, and made no effort to conceal their contempt for the rustic ways of the village-folk. This change in attitudes and preferences has on the one hand encouraged migration to cities of young people who take up the small jobs there; and on the other it has generated disharmony and dissensions within the family causing considerable dislocation in the established principles according to which priorities and concessions went with age and kinship status. Service in the army, and city restaurants and the influence of the cinema tend to accentuate all this, but so far the number of young men with these tendencies is not more than 10% or 15% of the total in their age-group.

564 178 The caste system in the community presents only slight variations in some directions. As before, caste still retains its endogamous character. Similarly, caste continues to be a part of, and is sanctioned by, the traditional religion. However, its occupational character has undergone some change. People are now taking to new occupations. A goldsmith has opened a tea shop. Washermen and similar other castes are accepting menial jobs in the city. These are not their traditional occupations. Besides Muslims some non-Komti Hindus have set up general shops in the village; in the traditional system only Komtis could do so. Thus people are either giving up their traditional occupations, or they are taking to occupations which by tradition belong to some other castes.

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167 **IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION**--extent and sources of immigration; extent and destination of emigration; reasons of migration; trends; restrictive regulation; colonization; etc. See also:

Prehistoric migrations 174
Travel 484
Ethnic stratification 563
Slave trade 567
Colonial dependencies 636
Naturalization 641
Transplantation of conquered populations . . . 728

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Telugu
AW17

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chintzes. The opening of the coastal railway completed the ruin of the cyclone of 1864; yet it is still generally known as Bandar ('the port'). Cocanada is rather better, with many more wharves and jetties; but again the anchorage is 5–6 miles offshore. The ports might—at large expense—be developed as outlets for En Hyderabad, should that backward area itself be developed; but obviously the actively prograding deltas impose severe difficulties on any reconstruction; at Cocanada constant dredging is necessary to keep a depth of 4–6 ft (LWOST) on the bar. In the great days of the coolie traffic, before the depression and the Indo-Burmese race-riots of the 1930s, Cocanada had an enormous migrant turnover. ● 167

(c) *Nellore*

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The traditional Sn boundary of the Telugu country lies along the Tirupatti escarpment, overlooking the Renigunta basin; beyond is Tamilnad, a country, almost a nation, on its own. The transition is reflected in the increasing importance of tank-irrigation, though this will be changed if the Penner is ever fully utilised. Physically also the transition is marked by patches of marine Jurassics and the coastal belt of sub-recent Cuddalore sandstones; both become more important in the Madras coastal plain (Fig. 141).

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Most of Nellore is poor country: low peneplains of Archaean gneisses and schists, stony or lateritic and largely covered with scrub. Even allowing for the large part of the District in the Velikondas, agriculture is severely limited. The coast is fringed by a belt of alluvium 2–14 miles wide, between low-level laterites and the blown sand of the shore. The most interesting coastal feature is the great salt-water lagoon of Pulicat; the islands of the lagoon are used for burning lime from the great shell-banks (this is a main source of *chunam* plaster for Madras building) and salt smuggling is or was important. [339]

[illegible]2 The Penner and its associated tanks (Fig. 138) are already important for irrigation, and will be more so when the old scheme for an anicut at the Someswaram watergap through the Velikondas is carried out.

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Away from the Cuddapah Ranges (above, pp. 678–82), the only mineral wealth consists of laterite, building-stones, the coastal salt and shell-lime, and mica from the Archaean schists: output of mica is about 11,000 tons p.a., rather under 10% of *Indian* production. Nellore (56,315) is almost entirely administrative and commercial; it has a little pottery, but other industrial development is practically absent.

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The Circars form the nucleus of the new Andhra State which nevertheless is to be administered from distant Kurnool. This is the first experiment in "linguistic states", and it can hardly be said that its geographical foundations are very sound or imposing (cf. 126, 675, 682).

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871 *Education.*—A day school has recently been started with 40 on
the roll, 25 average attendance. Most of the pupils come from other
[212] villages. Three adults are able to read the vernacular. Eight can
write their signatures. The karnam alone can read and write well.
About five or six have learned to read and write but have lost the
[191] ability latterly. No one knows English.

214 There are about 50 or 60 books, all in Telugu. Of these about seven or eight relate to the Hindu Law and to village administration. The rest relate to the Puranas.

624 *Village administration.*—There is no panchayat.

There is a monigar and a karnam and two talaiyaris. The karnam keeps the accounts of the village, and the monigar is the village magistrate and collects the kist. The talaiyaris are the servants attached to the village. There is no sanitary administration.

625 The nearest Police station is situated at a distance of 12 miles in Sodam, which station was formerly at Kandur.

In recent years there has been practically no crime. About five years ago there was a murder, never detected.

691 For the present there is only one case belonging to this village pending judgment at the Sessions Court, Chittoor. This is about a land dispute.

Ordinarily disputes are settled here in the presence of the monigar, karnam, and some leading men of the village.

178 *History and prospects.*—There has been economic deterioration due to the scarcity of rains and the consequent failure of crops. The ryots have been impoverished and consequently obliged to get into the clutches of creditors.

For the present there does not seem to be scope for economic improvement. The tanks are all getting silted up. The bunds are getting decreased in height. Recently one bund burst. The persons concerned are very poor to bear the cost of repairs. But if the repairs are executed then there might be some improvement and the area of irrigated lands might be extended.

437 More wells could be sunk with advantage. They are not sunk owing to lack of funds with the ryots. People sell land owing to the fact that by doing so only they can support their families and themselves. Land is bought by w[illegible]o-do persons as a sort of investment and also because it is [illegible]etimes had at a price lower than its right worth.

167 In recent years there has been no emigration at all. But about ten years ago two persons of Yekili caste emigrated to Natal. They have not since returned. Their emigration was due to their failure to get a living here.

Such movements have generally no visible effect on the life of the village.

325 Another interesting point is that smelting ovens are seen all round the village in a state of ruin. It seems that formerly (about thirty or forty years ago) iron ore found all round the village was smelted here locally, and that this was sufficient for the local demand. But now no such practice exists. However iron is still found in the shape of filings in large or small quantities round about. Moreover this iron is held to be of good quality. More detailed information can be had from the North Arcot District Manual, wherein it is mentioned.

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426 allowed by the Government for waste lands. An economic enquiry is held by the village officers every year and a report is sent to the Government.

311 There is scope for improvement on a large scale if only ryots are prepared to start with a large capital and adopt modern methods of agriculture. There does not seem to be any possibility of extending the irrigated lands. Almost all available land has been used up, and brought under cultivation.

312 The condition of tanks and wells has been improved of late. More wells could be sunk with advantage, but are not sunk owing to lack of funds.

733 The barbers, dhobis and others are tending to lose their lands owing to their pernicious habit of drinking. People sell land in
426 order to pay off old debts. Loans are given only on mortgage of lands. The chief purchasers are money-lenders.

● 167 There has been no emigration. But two Muhammadans are at the front as sepoys. About a hundred belonging to this particular
702 taluk are in the army and most of them are at the field of operations.

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31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
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Ta 691 consent. The case was decided in the High Court in favour of the plaintiff. A similar dispute is in progress now.

Ta 556 About half of the Brahmans are well-to-do. Most of them have no children. They adopt children. The wealth of the father and of the adoptive father goes to the son. Thus the properties of two persons go to one. Being well-to-do, they do not engage in work; but spent their time in idleness and gossip. Some engage in money-lending at usurious interest.

POTHAVARAM, RAZOLE TALUK, GODAVARI DISTRICT.

[*By B. Lakshminarayana Sastri, Christian College, Madras.*]

Te 162 *Population.*—Brahmans, 8 families, 53 individuals; Sudras, 191 families, 948 individuals; Muhammadans, 5 families, 28 individuals. Birth-rate 44 per thousand; death-rate 35 per thousand.

Te 423 "The Brahmans used to monopolize the land till recently and cultivate it through non-Brahman (Pariah) servants. But being far away from their land their property was not safe with the uneducated Pariahs. A sect of non-Brahmans called Kapus are now buying lands through their economy and industry and low standard of life. The Brahman having to maintain a high standard is slowly incurring debts. There is a chance of the non-Brahman Kapu sect in the village gaining the lands if they maintain their low standard of life and economical and industrious habits. Te [793] While the non-Brahman always remains in the field or garden the Brahman stays for a major part of the day in the main village as he has to perform his daily religious ceremonies and social functions. The Brahman cannot live in such an isolation as the non-Brahmans. He cannot do hand labour and his supervision is inefficient.

Te 454 "People buy land as a secure form of investment. The educated classes after saving money buy lands with it though they never cultivate it. It is the only form of secure investment with which they are familiar being ignorant of other safe investments. Moreover, land investment pays a man better and gives him some status among his neighbours. Te ● 167 871 The emigration from this village is slow. Some are leaving for neighbouring towns for their sons' education while a few are emigrating to Burma for labour. The former rarely return except during vacations while the latter return after four or five years. This emigration once started catches fire, education is simply being undergone for appointments, there being a sort of respect and awe attached to this sort of life. Every average villager now eagerly wants to educate his son in spite of heavy debts and great inconveniences. Economically it is a loss though intellectually it may be a gain. Socially it is removing some of the superstitions of the villagers. The mixing with the educated villagers is removing many deep-rooted superstitions. The emigration to Burma of coolies is to a small extent an economic gain; but at the expense of family life and social intercourse. The husband has to part from his wife and friends for a very long time. He does not even become intellectually advanced and his earnings are spent on drink."

171

171 **DISTRIBUTIONAL EVIDENCE--occurrence of similar culture traits in other societies; inferences from trait distributions; etc. See also:**

Distribution of biological traits	14
Affiliation with particular culture areas or subareas	101
Linguistic relationships	197

RITUAL STRUCTURE

795 Hinduism in the course of the last four or five-generations. They
776 do not believe in any of the gods of the Hindu Trinity, nor in any of the later incarnations; but they share with the Hindus a living faith in the existence of malevolent ghosts, spirits and witches.
[621] They[1] participate with the rest of the community in village ceremonies and sacrifices. To ward off cholera, plague and smallpox, they too think that it is necessary to propitiate the local deities and goddesses.

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[614] Village Hinduism is not easy to describe. It is an extremely elastic religion, and within its all-India framework admits of a considerable degree of regional and local variation. In his *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India*, M. N. Srinivas has introduced the useful concept of 'spread', and split up village Hinduism into 'All India Hinduism', 'Peninsular Hinduism', 'Regional Hinduism', and 'Local Hinduism'.

776
● 171 The people of Shamirpet worship all the major gods of the Hindu pantheon, but many of their cults distinctly belong to the complex of ritual that can be regarded as peculiar to peninsular India. Some of these observances present variations which are confined only to this particular village.

The Hindu concept of a Trinity, comprising three manifestations of divinity—Brahma, the creator; Vishnu, the sustainer; and Shiva, the destroyer—has an all-India spread, and in common with the Hindus of the other parts of India the residents of Shamirpet principally worship either Shiva, or Vishnu and his
771 numerous incarnations—particularly Rama and Krishna. The
171 concepts of soul (*atma*), of the reckoning of an individual's actions and their [illegible]uences on his present and future life (the concept of *karma*), of laying emphasis on the right ordering of life and on doing what is just and moral (concept of *dharma*), of heaven and hell, and finally of the transmigration of the soul and its re-birth also have such an all-India spread; although there are significant regional and local variations in their details. Finally, the nature of rituals connected with the human life-cycle has been very considerably influenced by the Sanskritic ritual of all-India Hinduism, but it still continues to be characterized by some distinctive regional peculiarities.

778 All over India some rivers are regarded as sacred, and legends and cults grow around them. The Godavari is among the rivers whose sanctity and importance have been enhanced by prominent

[1] [The Muslims — Analyst]

mention in Hindu scriptures. Being the most important river of 778
the Deccan region its significance is very great to the Hindus of this area.

Along with the great gods of all-India Hinduism the people 776
also continue to observe cults associated with regional and local 171
deities and goddesses. The nature and characteristics of these goddesses differ widely in the different culture-areas of the land. Some of the goddesses listed below are commonly found in the Telugu-speaking areas, particularly in the Telangana districts of Hyderabad. Their main characteristics according to the residents of Shamirpet have also been mentioned.

They are:

1. Pochamma—goddess of smallpox.
2. Mutyalamma—goddess of chickenpox.
3. Balamma—goddess of fertility whose wrath causes sterility in women.
4. Mahakalamma—goddess of cholera.
5. Durgamma—goddess presiding over the destinies and welfare of the village.
6. Maisamma—goddess protecting the village boundaries.

Besides the above, certain other goddesses are also worshipped. Important among them are Ellamma (for the cure of boils), Pinamma (when naming a child after one of his deceased grandparents), and minor goddesses of the fields who protect the crops. To these must be added several other named and unnamed deities and goddesses whose worship is confined only to the village of Shamirpet.

All the characteristics of Hinduism having an all-India spread, 778
described above, are in evidence in the religion of the people of 346
Shamirpet. There is a small Shiva temple near the house of the 782
Brahmin; another with several images on a hillock by the side of
the Deshmukh's house. There are two platforms in the village on [776]
which the monkey god Hanuman[1] is lodged. In many clean caste houses there are images or pictures of some of these gods. Those

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[1] Hanuman, the 'Son of the Winds', was one of the monkey helpers of Rama in his search for Sita when she was abducted by the demon Ravana (according to the epic poem *Ramayana*). Modern tradition seeks to interpret the Monkeys and Bears of this story as the aboriginal inhabitants of the Deccan at the turn of the Christian era.

[P 71]

CHAPTER V

MODES OF WORSHIP IN THE CANARESE COUNTRY

● 171 THE Canarese are closely allied ethnologically to the Telugus,[1] and we should naturally expect, therefore, to find a close connexion between the ceremonies used by the two peoples in the worship of their village goddesses. A brief account of the ceremonies used in different parts of the Canarese country will show how far this is actually the case.

776 796 *Bellary District.* In the Bellary district Durgamma,[1] Sunkalamma, and Uramma are very commonly worshipped. Uramma means simply the village goddess, and is equivalent to the general term grāma-devatā. Her festival is not celebrated annually, but when there is a specially good crop, or when cholera or plague break out. The following account of it was given me by an Asādi of a village near Bellary, and may be taken as describing fairly the general type of such festivals and sacrifices throughout the district.

776 755 772 We will suppose that cholera has broken out in the village. The villagers then make vows to offer the sacrifice if the epidemic ceases. The day appointed for the festival is invariably a Tuesday, and on the previous Tuesday a basin-shaped earthen lamp, filled with oil and furnished with a stout cotton wick, is placed in the house of the *Reddy* (village magistrate) and kept lighted till the festival and all the ceremonies are ended. The carpenter, also, prepares beforehand a wooden image of the goddess and a small cart, while

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[1] Durgā is one of the many names of Kālī, the wife of Śiva.

173

173 TRADITIONAL HISTORY--**oral historical traditions and evidence as to their reliability; dynastic lists and genealogies; historical inferences from myth and tradition; etc. See also:**

Traditions of kin groups	61	Mythology.	773
Myth texts.	539	Historians and genealogists.	814
Kinship genealogies.	60[illegible]		

291 purchase they lose their new look; and although they are periodically washed, soap or soda-ash is rarely used and consequently they appear to be stained and soiled. In families which are financially better placed, and among those who have received some degree of education or who have been influenced by urban friends and relations, the children's clothing is markedly superior in quality and cleanliness. Boys wear shirts cut in modern style and *dhotis* or occasionally *pyjama*. Girls wear either a blouse and skirt or frocks bought ready-made from the city stores or made by the local tailor. Men wear a vest or shirt and a *dhoti*. Influential and well-to-do persons put on a coat when leaving their houses, particularly when going to the city. Women wear a *sari* and a bodice, the latter invariably embroidered. The favourite colours of the women in the countryside appear to be the deeper shades of red, yellow and green. The village shepherds have a distinctive dress. When they go out to graze their herds of goats and sheep they always have a locally made black blanket on their shoulders, even in the hottest season.

301 The people of Telangana, particularly the women, are extremely fond of ornaments. The commonest types are those made of metal which include ear-plugs and ear-rings, nose-pins and nose-rings, rings worn on the fingers and toes, bracelets, anklets, several types of light and heavy necklaces and belts worn round the waist. Among well-to-do people ear and nose ornaments as well as necklaces are generally made of gold; the rest of a woman's ornaments are of silver. However, very few people can afford ornaments of a metal as expensive as gold, and most people have a few silver pieces, the rest of their ornaments being made of cheaper metals and alloys. In addition to the metal jewellery all Hindu women except widows wear a number of glass bangles on the wrists. The Muslim women's choice of ornament differs from that of their Hindu neighbours, and such jewellery as they wear often comes from the shops in the city and is not made according to the designs of the local goldsmith.

3. THE VILLAGE

173 Shamirpet cannot claim to be a village of any great age. No historical records relating to the actual founding of the village are available, but the elderly people have some information regarding

its past history 'as it was passed on to them by their forefathers'. 173
The village of Shamirpet owes its present shape to the construction of the large and beautiful tank which lies some three furlongs north of the village site. Before the construction of this tank there was a tiny hamlet on the present site which consisted of a few households and was known as Shahpur. Some three hundred and fifty years ago Ibrahim Quli Qutub Shah, then ruler of Hyderabad, wishing to perpetuate his name, ordered the construction of a huge tank which, he expected, would be called after him. This tank is the hyphen linking the city of Hyderabad with Secundrabad. However, according to the legend, the people associated it with the name of the engineer Hussain Khan and called it 'Hussain Sagar'. So the ruler decided on the building of a second tank, and chose the site of Shamirpet. But the Shamirpet tank was his second disappointment. On the completion of the tank, he is believed to have come to the site and asked the people, 'Whose tank is this?' The people unwittingly answered, 'It is Shah Mir's tank.' The people's tribute to the man whose brain had created the project did not satisfy the Qutubshahi ruler. He ordered a third tank to be constructed at a different site some thirty-five miles away, and it is this tank which now commemorates his name and is known as 'Ibrahimpatan Sagar'. The second of these tanks, constructed near the hamlet known as Shaepur, changed the fortunes of that tiny settlement. The people who had worked on the construction of the tank settled permanently in the vicinity of the hamlet and were joined by more settlers attracted by the irrigation facilities provided by the tank, so that the village gradually grew to a considerable size. Because of its association with Shah Mir's tank, the [103] hamlet was given the new name of Shah Mir Pet, which became gradually corrupted into Shamirpet.

In the year 1798 H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad (until 1948 175 the feudal ruler of Hyderabad) granted this village together with 631 several others as *jagir* (feudal estate) to one of his nobles, the late Fakhrul Mulk Khan Khanan. On his death the estate was inherited by his son Nawab Nizam Yar Jung, also known as Nawab Ehsan-ul-Mulk Khan Khanan. The last in the line of the Jagirdars of Shamirpet was Kemal Yar Jung. He constructed a beautiful summer house, which is now in ruins, adjoining the tank, as well as several office buildings in the village which house the post office, the school, the police station and the village granary. After

174

174 HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION--inferences as to origins, migrations, contacts, prehistory and culture history from various types of evidence (e.g., anthropometry and language); etc. See also:

Historical research 814

● 174 Telugu AW17

[For historical sketches of cities, see category 369 or Index, category 116, 6: Spate AW1 India.]

175

175 **RECORDED HISTORY**--written sources (e.g., chronicles, reports of travelers, official records and documents) and their evaluation; evidence and inferences about prehistoric events from such sources; summaries of historical development within the periods distinguished under 101; specific historical information pertinent to an understanding of culture change; etc. See also:

Records	21	Historiography	814
Literary texts	539		

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175 the death of Kemal Yar Jung the property came under the administration
631 of the Court of Wards. In the meantime, vast changes were taking place in Hyderabad. After the Police Action of 1948, Hyderabad became an integral part of the Indian Republic. With the inauguration of the democratic order the Nizam has become a constitutional ruler and the feudal system within the State has been abolished. In consequence Shamirpet now comes under the jurisdiction of the normal district administration.

361 Shamirpet is situated at a distance of about a furlong from the
471 north-bound road which runs between Hyderabad and Karimnagar. An unmetalled road links the village with the main road, from which some of the houses in the village are clearly visible.
[764] Between the road and the village there is a flat and fairly level patch of ground, and in the centre of this ground there is a tree
[485] around which the Muslims bury their dead. At the junction of the main road and the diversion leading to the village there is a small shelter for passengers awaiting the buses, built in stone and lime.
361 A little way down to the north stands the Inspection Bungalow of the State Public Works Department. It is intended for the use of touring government officials, and can also be used by occasional visitors, who have to make a small payment for its use. Further north, at a distance of about two and a half furlongs, is the tank, which in its setting of barren rocks and tall trees provides a beautiful landscape. Between the tank and the road now lie the ruins of the 'summer house' which was built on the tank-bund by the last feudal landlord of the village. In his time it was provided with an electric generator, pipe lines and modern sanitary fittings, but after the Nawab's death it was deserted and is now a melancholy but romantic sight.

The village itself is not built according to a definite plan. A wide main street lies in the centre and runs almost parallel to and roughly a furlong away from the main road. As we proceed northwards down this street we find on the right a number of whitewashed stone buildings housing the various government offices, and on the left there are a number of small tea and betel shops. On the right there are also the residential quarters of the sub-inspector of police who is in charge of the police station, a government granary, living quarters of the police constables, the village dispensary, the school and the post office. Lanes branch off both right and left from the street, and on either side of these lanes are

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Changing Scene

178 THERE is a tendency among some Western writers to regard the rural societies of the East, particularly of India, as almost static and unchanging. For over a century 'the timeless and changeless Indian village' has been the ideal of the romanticist. However, a micro-sociological study of a village like Shamirpet, which was insulated in feudal surroundings and was thus kept almost unaffected by the currents of social, economic and political changes that were sweeping the countryside in British India, shows certain unmistakable trends in the direction of cultural and institutional variation.

175 To analyse the changing scene in the village a brief recapitulation of its history is necessary.

According to government records there was at first a small hamlet on the site on which the present comparatively large village of Shamirpet is situated. Nearly two hundred and eighty years ago the ruler of Hyderabad State decided to get a large tank constructed near this hamlet. When the construction was started the population of the village increased considerably by the influx of labourers from the neighbouring villages who built temporary shelters for themselves mid-way between the place of work and the existing settlement. As the work progressed, some of these people started building permanent huts for themselves. With the completion of the tank the village acquired excellent irrigation facilities. This finally induced most of the families working at the construction of the tank to settle down permanently in the village. In addition to these people, there was also a fresh wave of immigrants. This included the Reddis and Muslims who were attracted by the irrigation facilities now available in the village. They

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bought land for cultivation, built substantial houses, and thus became a part of the permanent population of the village. With the extension of agriculture a number of artisan and occupational castes were drawn into the village population. These castes are a necessary adjunct to the traditional system of agriculture in rural India, and the growing number of agriculturists in the village had already created a demand for them. Thus the population of the once-small hamlet of Shahpur gradually increased and consequently its status among the neighbouring villages was also enhanced. It has been pointed out that at this time it was renamed as Shamirpet to commemorate the engineer who had planned and supervised the construction of the tank. One of the ancestors of the present headman, who had successfully undertaken a contract for the carting of materials required in the construction of the tank, was duly rewarded by the ruler of the State with a substantial grant of land. He invested most of his earnings from the contract in buying more land. Thus he became the biggest landowner in the village. He was also appointed as the Mali Patel, a village official responsible for assisting the State officials in the collection of land revenue. At this time he was granted a *sanad*, a document appointing him as the headman of the village. In the context of these continued changes the internal organization of the village kept on modifying itself. Finally, when the population of this comparatively large village had become stable it reorganized its *panchayat* (village council). It now consisted of the Deshmukh (headman) who was its presiding officer, the three Ganadi (organizers of village ritual) and all the Kulam-pedda (heads of the different castes living in the village).

In the later history of the village there are two significant turning points. The first of these directly affected the village. The second affected Hyderabad State as a whole and brought in its wake certain currents which had significant repercussions on the countryside.

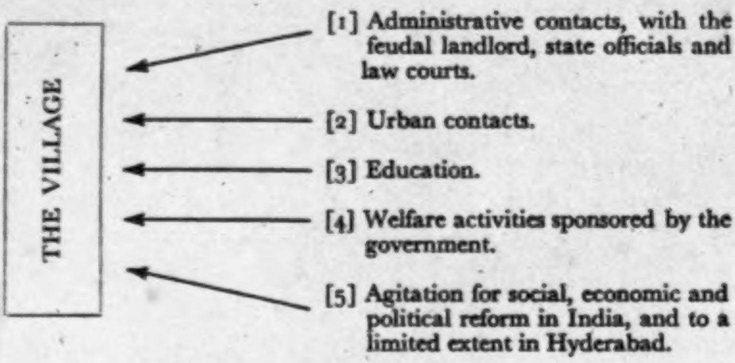
To begin with, about one hundred and fifty years ago the Nizam of Hyderabad granted Shamirpet, along with several other villages, as a *jagir* or feudal estate to one of his nobles. In the villages granted to him the feudal landlord replaced the normal district administration of the State. Shamirpet was selected as the headquarters of the estate, and as a direct consequence of this

175 decision several substantial houses were built in the village to accommodate its offices and officials. Forty years ago an ambitious Nawab built a row of modern-looking houses for his various offices. These were built in stone, had plastered and white-washed walls, and also had tiled roofs. Obviously they were in keeping with the urban styles of that time, commonly met with in the small towns having subdivisional administrative offices. One by one a school, a police station, a dispensary and a post office were added to the village.

In the race for modernization and introduction of Western technology feudal Hyderabad was much behind British India. Apparently very little happened in the rural areas of the State during the first one hundred and twenty-five years of British rule in India. Modern roads, buses and railways came in here much later than in the rest of the country outside the domains of native princes. In the later phases of this period the State maintained an impressive array of 'nation-building', 'welfare' and technical departments, but their activities in the rural areas were limited. However, these were very crucial years in the life of the village as a variety of complex socio-economic factors were influencing the fabric of the rural community. Urban contacts and modern education were acquired by a small section of the village population. Administrative contacts with State officers and law courts increased in this period. Owing to its nearness to the capital city Shamirpet received a somewhat favoured treatment at the hands of the nation-building and technical departments whose touring officials and propagandists visited this village more often than the other remote and distant villages.

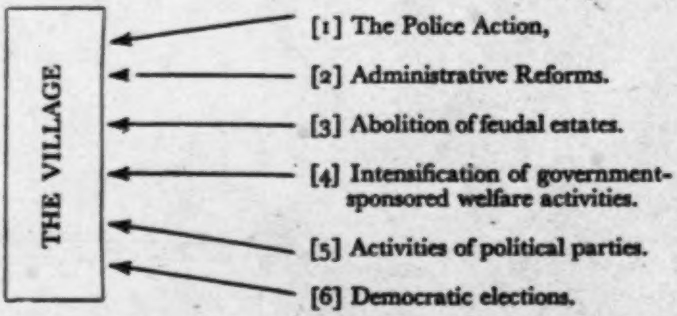
The last fifty years of British rule in India witnessed the gradual emergence of a strong national movement for the liberation of the country from foreign political domination, and under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi the Indian National Congress took the message of non-violent non-co-operation and passive resistance to the masses in the different parts of the country. This had a profound influence on the rural areas in several parts of the land, and led to some modification in the ways and outlook of the people. In Hyderabad there was no such mass movement, but what was happening in the rest of the country was not without significance for the people of this State. Later, inspired by the Indian example, there was some agitation for political reform and self-government in the State. This too had some influence on the village.

The major influences that were at work during the Jagir period, especially in the last five or six decades, are illustrated in the following diagram:


THE VILLAGE
[1] Administrative contacts, with the feudal landlord, state officials and law courts.
[2] Urban contacts.
[3] Education.
[4] Welfare activities sponsored by the government.
[5] Agitation for social, economic and political reform in India, and to a limited extent in Hyderabad.

The year 1948 witnessed many vital changes in the Hyderabad State. As an outcome of successful intervention of India, Hyderabad became an integral part of the Indian Union. This paved the way for several radical reforms in the State. The Nizam himself became a constitutional ruler. With the abolition of Jagirs the feudal system within the State came to an end. Rural development and welfare activities were intensified. Finally, democratic institutions were introduced and in 1951 the people went to the polls for the first time to elect their representatives, for the State Legislature and the Union Parliament.

The Police Action was the second turning point in the life-history of the village, as it inaugurated the operation of a new set of influences in the life of the community. These influences were:


THE VILLAGE
[1] The Police Action,
[2] Administrative Reforms.
[3] Abolition of feudal estates.
[4] Intensification of government-sponsored welfare activities.
[5] Activities of political parties.
[6] Democratic elections.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Orissa AW13
Telugu AW17

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Mercara in tiny Coorg, and it is in any case being superseded as the seat of 369
government by a new town at Bhuvaneshwar, 20 miles S of Cuttack.

There may, however, be a brighter future for Orissa. The merger of the 0
hill states increased the area by 85% (to 59,869 sq mls) and the population 631
by 58% (to 14,645,946); these are the largest gains by merger in all *India*. 161
The ending of the fantastic fragmentation of the State may facilitate co-ordinated development of the Mahanadi power projects and flood control (above, 678); it also gives some hope for the development of the forest resources of the excessively backward hills: timber (floated down the Mahanadi), lac, tussore silk.

The Northern Circars

This region, which corresponds to littoral Andhra Desa, is a transition T
zone in every respect. In the N we have the normal monsoon rainfall dis- 133
tribution; but the October–December proportion increases steadily in 132
importance Swds, together with a decrease in total amount and in rainy days. Already in Kistna Dt a third of the rain comes in the last quarter of the year, but these rains are more uncertain than those of the more usual monsoon months. In Ganjam Oriya is still dominant, but where the coastal plain narrows beneath the abrupt peak of Mahendragiri (4923 ft) the Aryan tongue gives way to Dravidian Telugu, which holds sway as far as the Nagari Hills (Fig. 127). To the S Nellore represents a further stage in the transition.

Ganjam, Vizagapatam, Godavari E and W, Kistna and Guntur Dts form T
the Northern Circars, brought under Muslim rule by the Golconda kings 631
about 1575, ceded to the French in 1753; 12 years later the EIC obtained 175
a grant of the whole from the Mogul Emperor, though of course his nominal subordinate the Nizam had exercised what government existed, apart from that of warring petty rajahs; this was the Company's first considerable territorial acquisition outside Bengal. Despite the Telugu culture and the modern historical identity, the region seems to lack unity. The proliferation of small ports and trading stations in the early European phase was perhaps a reflection of this; the Dutch factories at Bimlipatam and Coconada were not ceded to the EIC until 1825, and they had forced the early English settlement at Pulicat to move in 1625 to Armagaon, the parent of Madras. In Masulipatam the factory at French-pettah was not handed over to *India* until 1947, while English-palam and Volanda (Holland)-palam mark the settlements of those nations in the same town. Nizampatam was the first English station on the E coast (1611), and Yanaon (area 5 sq
mls, poptn 5711) in the Godavari Delta survives as the last relic of the 18th T
century French holdings.

The total area is about 25,000 sq mls with a 1941 population of *c.* 161

176

176 INNOVATION--analyses or general summaries of discoveries and inventions originating within the cultural group; factors involved (e.g., accident, genius, cultural base); number, range, and frequency of innovations, inventors and innovators; etc. For specific inventions see the appropriate descriptive category. See also:

Patents and copyrights 424

Muslims
Hindus

782 difficulties, and for the fulfilment of comparatively simple wishes, recourse is taken to other methods. Fasting on a certain day in honour of a particular god or goddess for the satisfaction of a specific desire (or for overcoming a difficulty) is very common; and women take recourse to it quite often. Thus when T. was involved in a law suit, both he and his wife used to fast on Monday, and pleaded with their family god to get the court decision in their favour. Promising a food offering, sacrifice, or fasting for a specified period on a certain day, in return for the fulfilment of a wish is also resorted to. E. R.'s daughter was seriously ill and there was no hope of her life. E. R. went to the shrine of the goddess to whom her family was attached and said, 'Mother, we have always worshipped you. My daughter is on the point of death. I cannot bear to let her go before me. Save her and I will sacrifice two goats in your honour.' The girl recovered and E. R. did sacrifice the promised goats. S., a Komti woman, was worried because her daughter's husband was 'going astray'. She promised her family god: 'If you join what is breaking I shall fast on Mondays for three months and make offerings to you on all days of the fast.' The husband after a while, again started taking an interest in her daughter, and true to her word the mother kept her vow. When the wishes are not fulfilled people curse their luck, blame their own past actions, and reconcile themselves to the unfavourable attitude of the gods. 'All that we can do is to pray and worship. It is for the gods to hear or not to hear us. What else can we do? How can we have a quarrel with them?' would typify the average man's attitude in all cases where the powers of the supernatural world do not yield to their prayers and offerings.

751
176 The Muslims too have faith in ghosts and evil spirits. Their methods of dealing with them are similar to those of the Hindus. In addition they read passages from the Koran and invoke the assistance of their sages and seers. For overcoming minor ailments and difficulties they eagerly seek amulets from holy persons.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India

Telugu AW17

Sandy tracts with palmyras fetch a rent of Rs. 10 per acre, without trees, Rs. 2 or 3 only; black clay Rs. 15 to 16 per acre. 427

The black clay land sells at about Rs. 350 per acre, the red sand at about Rs. 150. But the price has fallen now owing to two bad harvests. 435

Stock.

231

	By official information.	Non-official.
Working oxen	539	800 about.
Cows	412	600 "
Male buffaloes	6	14 "
Cow buffaloes	184	200 "
Young stock—buffaloes	208	250 "
Do. cows	637	650 to 700
Horses	...	...
Donkeys and mules	...	...
Sheep	58	61
Goats	225	200
Pigs	100	...

According to the census of 1900 and 1910 they were—

	1900.	1910.
Bullocks and he-buffaloes	650	545
Cows	580	412
She-buffaloes	171	184
Young stock	802	845
Sheep and goats	778	283

The straw of cholam and paddy is reserved for the summer feed of cattle; in the rainy season the green grass of the common pasture is available. Each ryot reserves one or two fields for pasture for his cattle. In days of heavy work, the bullocks are given cooked horsegram mixed with the husk of paddy, and the fine dust from the grain which is mixed with it in husking. Cotton seeds are also cooked and given for food; and oil cake, especially for milch cows. Ryots who have insufficient pasture send some of their cattle to the Agency tracts for the three months, July to September; they are charged Rs. 3 or 5 per pair.

Only about 50 per cent of the cattle-dung is used as manure, the rest is used for fuel. The average ryot applies six to eight cart-loads of dung per acre; besides the manure of the cattle kept in fields at nights. He accumulates a stock at home throughout the year and applies it at the end of the year to the fields. 241 [237]

No green manure or chemical manure is used.

Garden cultivation has been tried as an experiment with water-supply from a well, lifted by a water pump got from Bombay. Lemons and plantains are planted. The pump required some slight repairs, which were delayed for want of a mechanic near by. The garden too has not yet proved to be decidedly profitable; and all the villagers laugh at it as an innovation. [176] ●

Cost of cultivation.—The following is an account of the expenditure for ten acres of an average ryot, obtained from four ryots. 241 435

177

177 ACCULTURATION AND CULTURE CONTACT--number, character, and intensity of contacts with alien cultures; factors affecting cultural receptivity; instances of cultural borrowing; adaptive modification of introduced elements; agencies and agents of culture change; etc. See also:

Immigration	167	Colonial administration	636
Loan words	192	Foreign relations	648
Foreign trade	439	Missions	797
Ethnic stratification	563		

THE SETTING

871 Children of all communities now go to school, and the old
prejudice against admitting untouchable students is dying out. In
recent years some Mala and Madiga boys joined the school,
but most of them attended only in name, playing truant so
consistently that they derived little benefit and eventually stopped
going altogether. The school is ill-equipped, having some
miserable-looking furniture, a few charts and maps and the inevitable
blackboard. The master still wields his stick, and among
other reasons this explains perhaps the lack of enthusiasm on the
part of the lower-class children and their parents for the school.

743 The dispensary is housed in a small room and its adjoining
757 verandah. The rest of the building is used as living-quarters by
the Medical Officer. This small dispensary was started by one of
the Jagirdars, and has had a succession of Medical Officers who
had no qualifications for the job. The present incumbent too is not
properly qualified, for he is not even a medical licenciate. He is
paid Rs. 45 per month and is supplied with a small quantity of
drugs by the Medical Department of the Hyderabad Government.
•[177] As a result of contact with the cities, the villagers have developed a
great liking for injections, expecting them to work like magic and
provide quick and certain cure for all ailments. The Medical
Officer, although he is not authorized to give injections, does so
in the course of his limited private practice. People go to the dispensary
only for the treatment of common ailments, such as
scabies, cough and malaria. For want of proper equipment and a
qualified medical practitioner, the dispensary at Shamirpet has
very few patients. In addition to the allopathic dispensary there
are several elderly people in the village who administer herbal
preparations according to Indian indigenous systems of medicine.
755 Magic and divination are also employed to a considerable extent
by all sections of the people. 'Where herbs and medicines do not
work, proper chants and spells do not fail us', the people often say.
Indeed, for certain categories of disease and difficulties recourse
757 to divination is often regarded as the only proper remedy. It must
be added that increased contact with the cities and the influence
of education have greatly enhanced the value of modern medicine
in the eyes of the people. There is now practically no prejudice
against vaccination, although some people are still afraid of plague
and cholera inoculations because they cause pain and fever.
A minority of the villagers take advantage of the qualified doctors

1: O'Malley G-8 (no date) 1941 AW1 India

TELUGU AW17

197 dates as late as the eleventh century A.D. By then it had absorbed the vocabulary, spirit, and culture of the Sanskrit language, and up 538 to the nineteenth century, through a continuous period of eight centuries, it looked to Sanskrit as the model of literary expression. It took more than two centuries to complete the translation of the *Mahabharata*, and that great work formed the foundation for the superstructure of later literary construction. Early Telugu scholars were invariably acquainted with Sanskrit, and the vast stores of its literature afforded material for study, imitation, adaptation, and translation. Almost all the *Puranas* were translated one after another, and the habit of translation, though discouraged, persists to this day. But one good feature about the Telugu translations is that the genius of the poet-translator often permeates the whole work, so that it reads as if it were an original composition. These *Puranas* are mostly in verse form, with prose interspersed here and there in less poetic portions. Their themes were mostly mythological and religious, but the treatment of them was highly poetical. Stories of selfless love, of filial devotion, of absorbing romance, of great heroism, and of absolute renunciation can be found in scores in these *Puranas*. Another literary type that was evolved and perfected is called the *Prabandha*. A tale of the love and wedding of lovers of high lineage, written mostly in verse interspersed with prose, with a stock plot, overdrawn and ornate descriptions, and perfunctory characterization, was the sum and substance of the average *Prabandha*. Thus, as a rough estimate, it can be said that the two standard types existing in Telugu literature before it began to be subject to western influence were the *Purana*, or mythological long story, and the *Prabandha*, or romantic tale of moderate range.

538 The beginning of western influence can be traced to 1800 or even earlier; two books describing the life of Christ and his 177 teachings and explaining the doctrines of Christianity were written in Telugu in 1750 and 1780 respectively. The introduction of printing and the establishment of public schools teaching the language of the land as well as English were the starting-point of a great change in the life, manners, outlook, and culture of the average Telugu man, and the change was reflected in literature. In force, in variety of topics, in its relationship to the daily life of the people, in its ready assimilation of foreign elements, in its freedom of thought, in the abundance of its literary forms, and in its general output, Telugu literature became altogether a new literature. The change has been unique and all-pervading. The modern author need no longer be bound by convention or be hard pressed for a subject; he is not hampered by traditional literary forms but has been emancipated. He makes new ventures in the

1: O'Malley G-3 (no date) 1941 AW1 India

TELUGU AW 17

538

177

field of metrical composition. He sings in praise of his motherland and glories in its past history. He essays romance or adapts tales of fiction from English literature. Knowledge of English has given him the key to unlock the vast treasures of western thought. At the same time he is enriched with the learning of traditional Sanskrit lore, so that he can combine the best of the East and the best of the West.

Before we examine the literary output in greater detail and appraise the effect of the West on it, we may refer to the pioneer work done by Mr. C. P. Brown, a member of the Madras Civil Service for thirty-eight years (1817–55). This was a godsend to the Telugu language and literature. As he himself said, 'the flame of Telugu literature was just glimmering in the socket' in 1824, when he first began to make a study of the language. He helped to preserve its ancient literature by printing and publishing some of its classics; the method of collecting and editing manuscripts started by him in 1826 is substantially the same as is adopted even to-day. His essay on Telugu literature published in 1838 paved the way for the biographies of poets and histories of literature written and published in later times. The dictionary of the Telugu language which he compiled between 1845 and 1853, though not the very first of its kind, is still of distinct use.

The modern period of Telugu literature may be said to have begun about the year 1880, and critics have named it the Veeresalinga age (*yuga*) after the late Rao Bahadur K. Veeresalingam Pantulu, who has a just claim to be called its father. He was a dynamic personality with vast erudition and deep insight into human nature, a man of action and of quick and energetic resolve. The influence of Raja Ram Mohan Ray and of the Bengali reaction to the new light which came from the West was strong upon him, and he was the greatest figure in the field of literary and social reform in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. 'He laid the foundation stone of modern literature and led the way in developing the latent powers of the language into harmony and perfection'. In 1878 he published the first Telugu novel, which nine years later was translated into English and received with appreciation by the English-reading public. He claims in his autobiography to have written the first novel, to have translated the first drama, to have written the first Telugu farce and satire, and to have composed the first treatise on physical science; nearly all the different forms of composition found in English literature were transplanted by him. Literature was with him not a concoction prepared from a conventional recipe. It was an implement of social reform, a means of educating the public, a record of contemporary life, and a picture of the tumultuous changes that took place in his time.

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It was a whip with which he lashed the conservative elements which were an obstruction in the way of progress. His farces were full of satire, his essays were simple and instructive, his translations and adaptations have the appearance of original conception and execution. Among other works he published lectures on various subjects relating to social reform, a history of the Indian States (1894–5), and *Lives of Noble Ladies and Great Women*, the last of which includes accounts of Grace Darling, Elizabeth Fry, Lady Jane Grey, and Mary Carpenter. In 1892 he published a translation of Goldsmith's *Traveller* in verse form; he also brought out translations and adaptations of some of Shakespeare's dramas and of Sheridan's *Duenna* and *The Rivals*.

He is regarded as the originator of modern Telugu prose, though he was not actually the first to make use of it. An earlier writer, Chinnaya Suri, left a book of stories entitled *Nithichandrika* which is considered a classic; and manuscripts of a few prose works, mostly tales of romance and mythological stories, have been discovered in the Tanjore palace library, which was built up by the rulers of Tanjore between 1535 and 1835. Although, however, prose-writing was not unknown, it was held in low esteem until Veeresalingam gave it dignity; till then verse alone could bestow distinction on a writer.

The stimulus given by Veeresalingam led to an increase of literary production and an improvement in quality. Publishing houses were started, not with the idea of making a profit but with the object of enriching the literature of the land; philanthropy and patriotism were associated with literary activities. One of the first products of the publishing agencies was the 'Vijnanachandrika Series', in which useful books of many different kinds were published under the able guidance of a versatile scholar, K. V. Lakshmanarao. Later he undertook the publication of an encyclopaedia in Telugu on the model of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, but his untimely death stopped progress after the first three volumes had appeared. As paper was cheap and printing was easy, almost every town of any repute or population had its serial publications and its circle of patrons and subscribers. Since then, with the increase of the number of schools and colleges, English education has spread even into remote villages, and the writers of the day exhibit unmistakable signs of western influence in their works.

One way in which contact with the West through the medium of English literature has affected Telugu literature is in a large number of translations and adaptations, some of which make the story fit into the life and conditions of the Telugu country, though others do not. Not only the novel but also the drama, the short story, the biography, the lyric, the satire, the essay, and almost every other kind of literary production have been imported from the West by way of translation, adaptation, or abridgement. The extended knowledge and use of English have also enabled interprovincial contacts, as a result of which scholars have become familiar with the contemporary literature of other Indian languages. A number of works, more especially novels, have been translated or adapted from Bengali, Canarese, Tamil, Marathi, and Hindi; the modern masters of Bengali literature, in particular Rabindranath Tagore and Bankim Chandra Chatterji, have been much drawn upon to enrich Telugu. With all this, the mental horizon of writers has been enlarged. Their outlook has widened and their spirit has become more or less cosmopolitan.

Translation and adaptation are only one aspect of literary development. Another and much more important is the output of productive genius, displaying itself in originality of subject and independence of thought, as, for instance, in what is called the social novel, in which the realities of daily life are portrayed and the complex problems of society tackled. This has served as a popular method of introducing social reform; many a book can be found in which the caste system, early marriage, enforced widowhood, and the illiteracy of women are boldly attacked.

The novel is an entirely new variety of literature introduced from English; the first of its kind, *Rajasekhara Charitra*, was an adaptation of Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield*. Fiction soon became popular. Much of it was merely imitative. A number of Scott's novels were translated; coming to the later years of the first quarter of this century, the sensational novel and the detective novel took the fancy of writers; a number of cheap sixpenny dreadfuls have been adapted with and without acknowledgement. The novels of Conan Doyle have been translated or adapted, and counterparts of Sherlock Holmes and Doctor Watson have been created and continued from one book to another as was done by Conan Doyle. The plots of Reynolds's novels have also been imitated; some of his novels have been translated, and an adaptation of *East Lynne* has been published. On the other hand, there is much original work both in plot and construction, e.g. in the novels of Chilakamarthi Lakshmi Narasimham, some of which give a picture of Telugu life in all its attractive simplicity. A versatile writer, he also produced historical novels and stories, for which Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan* provided material, and he is well known as a dramatist and humorist. The historical novel is very widely read, and almost all topics of Indian history, from the gleanings of Vedic times to the fall of the Mughal Empire, have supplied themes for writers, who have used their knowledge of

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538 English to ransack the books on Indian history published in
177 English in order to enrich the literature of their mother tongue.

The short story has also found considerable favour with the Telugu public and is a regular feature of magazines which have been started in imitation of the *Strand*. The chief themes are love and detection, both of western origin; one author in an English preface to his book frankly acknowledges the sources from which he has drawn, saying: 'Of late I have been reading a deal of sensational fiction, especially the writings of Edgar Allan Poe, Arthur Reave, Conan Doyle, Maurice Le Blanc, William Le Queux and others of note.' Of non-English authors, Tolstoi and Maeterlinck have received special attention.

Other branches of prose literature have in most cases been started in imitation of the West. The critical essays of K. V. Lakshmanarao and Veeresalingam had as their prototype some of the essays of Matthew Arnold, Walter Pater, and John Ruskin. These pioneers led the way and a number of followers have adopted their methods, which are now accepted as ordinary standards of Telugu writing, no one troubling to consider what was the model adopted or imitated. The *Spectator* and the *Tatler* have their counterparts in Telugu; the inimitable *Sakshi* of Mr. Panuganti Lakshmi Narasinham, and the *Vadarubothu*, hailing from Anantapur, are obvious adaptations of those English names. The constitution of the Spectator Club has been copied, but the author's individuality is too strong, and the social and religious conditions of the Telugu country are too unlike those of English society in the eighteenth century to make his papers servile imitations of the western originals. The humour and wit of the author are entirely different from those of Addison or Steele, and the language adopted and the situations created by him are all peculiarly suited to the manners and customs of the Telugus. Unlike the author of the *Spectator*, he not only exposes the small foibles of certain social types but often probes the depths of emotion and the springs of human action. The satire of Veeresalingam is of a more caustic type. In an adaptation of Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* he successfully brought Swift's method into play, only with this difference that Swift was a misanthrope and Veeresalingam an optimist. Of more modern humorists we may mention Chilakamarthi Lakshmi Narasimham, whose foe is folly and whose weapon wit.

The literature of criticism is one of the branches of Telugu whose nature has been so completely changed that in its present form it must be regarded as a new contribution to the language. Formerly there was very little criticism except of a peculiar type. A few books were written on the lines of the treatises on *Alankara Sastra* in Sanskrit, but the aim of the critic was more or less re-

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stricted to finding out whether a particular book satisfied the conditions laid down in a conventional scheme of classification. There was little attempt to examine its various aspects as a whole. The beauties of a particular verse or the propriety of a particular idea were discussed, and literary animosity, professional rivalry, or individual jealousy had free play. Now the western canons of literary criticism are applied and the authorities of western criticism are not only referred to but also quoted *in extenso*. Before the advent of English Sanskrit was the only law-giver and the treatises on aesthetics in that language were the only guides. Now the whole critical literature of the English language is at the disposal of the critic, and in his praise or condemnation of a literary production he makes use of them most freely. Recent works on the art of criticism, the standards of beauty and literary taste, the theories of dramatic technique and dramaturgy abound in references to and quotations from western authors. A lead was given by Dr. C. R. Reddi, the present Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University, who in 1899 wrote a critical appreciation of the works of a great poet of the middle ages; this work, which was new in the field, is still read as a model estimate of an author's work. Its success was as much due to his originality as it was to his introduction of methods of interpretation. To-day an accomplished scholar is required to be proficient not only in Telugu but also in English and Sanskrit, and it is not uncommon to find a critic taking an idea or a situation from a Telugu poet and quoting parallels from Shakespeare and Kalidasa at the same time.

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Other branches of prose are also slowly developing. *A Short History of the World* by H. G. Wells has been translated into Telugu; short treatises on physics, chemistry, mathematics, economics, co-operation, and other subjects of practical or scientific value are making their appearance; and with the adoption of the modern languages of India as the media of instruction in schools there is a sustained effort to increase the number of publications of an educational nature.

Journalism is another western importation, and its ever-growing popularity is introducing substantial changes into the vocabulary and style of prose, which is gaining in lucidity, facility of expression, and suitability to different demands. [204]

Telugu drama has also been influenced to a great extent by contact with the West. In one way it might be said that Telugu dramatic literature began in 1883, when Veeresalingam published a translation of *Sakuntala* from Sanskrit, which he followed up two years later with a translation of Sheridan's *Rivals*. The form of dramatic literature which he started caught the imagination of the people, and for a continuous period of nearly fifty years every

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538 town of any repute has had its theatre. Amateur and professional
536 actors began to stage dramas which were sometimes translations from Sanskrit, sometimes from English, but also often original
177 productions. But it should not be thought for a moment that the Telugu people before this time had no dramatic art. It was not entirely foreign to them. Examination of the manuscripts of the Tanjore palace library has revealed a good number of literary productions called 'dramas', though most of them do not approach either the Sanskrit or the English drama in plan of construction, characterization, or dramatic value. They were merely scenic representations of detached incidents with the accompaniment of music and dance. There was the invariable element of humour, and the story often centred about the marriage of a prince of a royal family or a god. Puranic stories were also dramatized in the same way, and the stage and its equipment were of a very simple nature. The itinerant village stage still puts on the boards the indigenous Telugu drama, which is very closely akin to the miracle or mystery plays of the sixteenth century in England.

The construction of theatres for the entertainment of large audiences and the cultivation of dramatic art for its own sake were undoubtedly due to western influence, and it is obvious that modern Telugu drama has been profoundly influenced in matter and manner, in sentiment and action by English models. Social topics are freely selected for dramatization, the problems which confront society are presented in an idealized or a realistic atmosphere, and thus the stage has become a powerful institution for the education of the public and for the guidance of public opinion. The modern form of drama began with translations from Sanskrit in 1880, before which time authors restricted themselves to a poetical rendering of Sanskrit works and made no attempt to present them on the stage, probably because actors had no social status and the stage was often in the hands of low-class people. The drama has now abandoned the classical unities of Sanskrit drama and has imbibed the freshness, vigour, and variety of topic found in English works. The stage has seen translations or adaptations of the dramas of Ibsen, Bernard Shaw, and many other European writers; the influence of Bengali literature is also evident, Dwinjendralal Ray and Rabindranath Tagore being models for translation. Tragedies are prohibited in Sanskrit, and for a time this ban was observed in Telugu, but the influence of English literature proved too strong, and to-day tragedy and comedy are accepted types though tragedy is not popular. The living drama is, however, being displaced in popular favour by the films displayed in the ever-growing number of 'talkie-houses', yet another western importation.

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The progressive change which we have seen in prose and drama is far less pronounced in poetry, owing no doubt to the finished form the latter had attained in pre-British days, its assured place in the heart of the people, and the strength of the traditions which it established. The Telugu classics are in a class by themselves and, as in past centuries, are the subject of continued study. There are conservative writers, the forms and subjects of whose verse reproduce those of the old *Prabandha* and *Purana*. The modern English-educated young Telugu, however, rambles into foreign fields. The works of English poets such as Byron, Shelley, Keats, Milton, and Wordsworth have been adapted. Shakespearian blank verse has created a taste for a particular variety of metre called the Telugu blank verse, which is now used extensively. The odes and the sonnets of English poets have had their effect on modern Telugu compositions, of which short poems on simple topics are a new feature, while the lyric element has received much attention.

Innovation has been the key-note of the young poets of the modern school, who have made it their object to emancipate themselves from the laws, conventional rules, and restrictions observed by poets of earlier generations, and to bring in new metres, new ideas, and new standards of value. Simple topics have been introduced such as 'the darkness', 'her eyes', 'the forest flower', 'the cuckoo'. A higher note has been struck by patriotism, the Andhra land being eulogized and the past greatness of its heroes commemorated. The cry 'This is my own, my native land' began to be raised early in the twentieth century, and it has now swelled into a chorus. The work of the modernists has a certain freshness and vigour, but the older school sees nothing good in it. It is adversely reviewed, often denounced, ridiculed, and satirized, as in a recent collection of poems (*Suklapaksham*), the author of which is himself undoubtedly influenced by Dryden, Pope, and other English satirists. Lack of scholarship, incoherence in thought, and vagueness of expression are a few of the faults laid at the door of the modern poet (*bhava kavi*), and with no little justification. There are some, however, whose writings are free from these defects and in whom western influence can be seen to the best advantage, for they combine the freedom of English literature with the strength of the indigenous culture. One point, however, has to be conceded, viz. that in certain qualities the twentieth-century Telugu poet and scholar suffer in comparison with the ancient Telugu poets. The modern scholar has widened the extent of his knowledge but he has lost in depth. The modern poet has not the same mastery of language as the ancient poets, who had metre, diction, and rhyme at their command, though there are still writers of this type who have not come under the spell of western literature.

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Two more important changes must be briefly mentioned. One is the introduction of the spoken dialect, as opposed to the literary dialect, into the writings of the day. This movement was started as a result of western influence by Rao Sahib G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu, and it is gaining ground as it gathers adherents from the younger generation. There are many scholars, however, who resist the adoption of this dialect as a literary medium on the ground that it is a defilement of their pure language. The other is the change which the vocabulary has undergone as the result of the infusion of English, a change similar to that which it underwent when it first came into contact with Sanskrit. That process still continues; to-day any Sanskrit word, simple or compounded with another, can be used in a standard work in addition to the words already adopted from Sanskrit which have become domiciled. At present the Telugu language is almost gravitating to a similar position in relation to English, because, in addition to the English words already incorporated in it with the necessary phonetic changes, English verbs and nouns are freely used in the daily speech of the educated and higher classes; as has often been pointed out, the modern graduate cannot speak Telugu for a few minutes without using some English expression or other. Any acceleration of this change will tend to the transformation of the language, which will become anglicized in the same way that it has been Sanskritized, but an effective check is likely to be afforded by the spread of the spirit of nationalism.

VI. URDU

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Urdu is the most commonly used language in India. It is spoken in the greater part of the north and in some parts of the south, including the great Indian State of Hyderabad, Deccan. In other parts of the country it is more or less understood, particularly in large towns. Its literature has thus a wide appeal and its influence is spreading with the growth of literary activity in various branches of knowledge. Though as a literature Urdu is comparatively new, yet as a language it is fairly old. There is an impression abroad that the language was born in the camp of Shah Jahan at Delhi, but this is not correct, though it is not unlikely that the camp was the origin of its name.[1] There are many theories[2] as to the origin of the language. Whatever view may be finally adopted, I think I can safely associate myself with the opinion expressed on this

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[1] 'Urdu' is a Turkish word and means a camp.

[2] One theory is that the language developed in the Deccan before it travelled to Delhi. Another theory propounded some years ago by Professor Mahmud Sherani of the Oriental College, Lahore, in his book *Punjab men Urdu* is that it travelled through the Punjab to Delhi.

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178 SOCIOCULTURAL TRENDS--changes in fundamental underlying conditions; linear trends (e.g., cultural drift); cyclical trends (e.g., fashions and vogues); dynamic processes (e.g., integration, selective elimination, cultural evolution); evidence of cultural lag; evidence of cultural continuity or stability; etc. See also:

Demographic trends 161
Linguistic drift 197
Clothing fashions 291
Trends in urban development 369
Political movements 668

476 623 626 we recorded three cases of protracted antagonism between a group of employing families and the occupational caste families employed. In one of them the dissatisfied employer agreed to retain the family on its promise of doing better work in the future. In another the caste people arrived at an amicable settlement by attaching another family to the employer, and attaching the dismissed caste member to a newly-settled family in the village. The third one dragged on for a little less than four years, and, yielding to the pressure and persuasion of the village elders, the caste agreed to give a substitute. The employer in this case was a hot-headed farmer, but he was a man of some wealth and considerable influence, and as such he could secure the effective intervention of the village elders in his own favour.

476 178 According to our informants 'the system to-day is not what it was a decade or two ago'. Many attribute this change to the spirit of individualism which is now manifesting itself in several walks of life in the countryside, and is bringing about changes in the established patterns of life. 'In former times,' said an agriculturist, 'these low classes knew their position and behaved themselves well. If they worked satisfactorily they were treated by us very well. In fact, with the passage of time, our relations became more and more intimate. I remember those days when a barber's son would come into the courtyard, offer salutations to us and say "Uncle, the headman has called you" or "Mother, the ceremony in the neighbour's house is about to start and they are awaiting you." In many cases they were just like the members of our family, and although both parties maintained the traditional caste distance, we could always take each other into confidence even on matters of a delicate nature. But now things have changed. Those boys don't want to work here. They want to go to the city. They are not satisfied with the traditional arrangements of payment; and so there is difficulty.' However, the system still continues more or less in its established, traditional form. Urban contacts, education or attraction of something better or more lucrative, may distract a young man, causing him to refuse to replace his old or deceased father's services with a family to which they were attached, but one of his poorer and less ambitious brothers or cousins will always be willing to take up the work.

600 We shall now examine the main economic functions and activities of the major caste groups in the village.

Perhaps the fact of the matter was that Aliyabad men had 578
obtained the favour by bribing the guards; but their excessive 621
greed in not allowing any water into Shamirpet fields had 609
exposed their game. Prompt official intervention checked ugly developments; and later the issue was resolved at inter-village level. But in the dispute itself the two villages had forgotten their internal differences and dissensions and each of them had acted
as one body. Another instance of such concerted action and village 621
unity is provided by the conflict between the residents of Shamirpet and eight army men from the nearby cantonment. These eight people came to the village in two army trucks and started loading their vehicles with firewood cut and stored by a resident of the village. Obviously the army men intended to take it away without payment. The owner of the house tried to check them, and in the process he was badly beaten up. In the meantime the news had reached the other village people, who came rushing to the spot armed with sticks. They did what they thought proper at the time to avenge the honour of the village. Outnumbered by the villagers, the army men returned to their camp, threatening to bring their company to destroy the entire village. Police intervened and the trouble was not allowed to develop further.

In a society resting on rigid division of the population into castes 578
separated by strict rules governing touching, eating and drinking, 178
sex relations and matrimony, and social distance prescribed by
tradition it is essential that people realize certain limitations and 564
accept certain conditions. Caste consciousness develops quite early in one's life and these limitations and conditions are absorbed long before maturity by all through conversation groups, play-groups and general social experience. So far there has been no attack on the general premises on which the society rests, and therefore no serious inter-group or inter-caste conflicts have arisen. The lower castes have accepted their inferior status, and while they have made efforts to improve their lot they have not openly revolted against it. In their turn the higher castes have also shown considerable adaptability, and recognizing the general social trend they have readjusted their attitudes and curbed some of the earlier excesses and injustices. They may still object to being touched by a low caste man, but they will not protest against his wearing superior clothing befitting only the upper castes.

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Changing Scene

178 THERE is a tendency among some Western writers to regard the rural societies of the East, particularly of India, as almost static and unchanging. For over a century 'the timeless and changeless Indian village' has been the ideal of the romanticist. However, a micro-sociological study of a village like Shamirpet, which was insulated in feudal surroundings and was thus kept almost unaffected by the currents of social, economic and political changes that were sweeping the countryside in British India, shows certain unmistakable trends in the direction of cultural and institutional variation.

175 To analyse the changing scene in the village a brief recapitulation of its history is necessary.

According to government records there was at first a small hamlet on the site on which the present comparatively large village of Shamirpet is situated. Nearly two hundred and eighty years ago the ruler of Hyderabad State decided to get a large tank constructed near this hamlet. When the construction was started the population of the village increased considerably by the influx of labourers from the neighbouring villages who built temporary shelters for themselves mid-way between the place of work and the existing settlement. As the work progressed, some of these people started building permanent huts for themselves. With the completion of the tank the village acquired excellent irrigation facilities. This finally induced most of the families working at the construction of the tank to settle down permanently in the village. In addition to these people, there was also a fresh wave of immigrants. This included the Reddis and Muslims who were attracted by the irrigation facilities now available in the village. They

127 In some respects the factors of social change operating at these two stages and the resultant trends are complementary, while in others they stand out in marked contrast. It will be useful first to analyse the changes that came about in the life and ways of the people in the last fifty years of the feudal period, and then to follow it up by an examination of some of the more recent changes brought about by the Police Action.

It is difficult to present a systematic account of the different stages of the slow and gradual transition of the village from its pre- and early-Jagir days to the conditions that it presented in the later part of the feudal period. Any attempt to do so would necessitate placing excessive reliance on oral tradition about the near past. In order to be able to compare the conditions in the two periods and to determine the main lines of variation, reconstruction of a picture of the first stage is necessary. This could be done on the basis of:

(*a*) Factual information regarding comparable, but remote villages of the region, which because of their comparative isolation and lack of urban contacts present to-day, in a broad sense, conditions that Shamirpet would have presented in the pre- and early-Jagir period. Cautious and limited use of this method of translating space into time is useful in providing us with a starting point.

(*b*) Oral traditions and memories of the people, in so far as they do not concern themes pertaining to family glory and personal pride, or those involving subjective idealization.

(*c*) Fragmentary evidence from documentary and historical sources reflecting conditions of life and living in that period. Police, revenue and other semi-legal records obtainable have been used in this connection.

The contrasting picture of the village representing the last phase of the feudal period can be drawn from actual ethnographic observation and record.

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369 The major factors which influenced the course of developments in the village have been mentioned earlier. However, they need some further elaboration. In the pre- and early-Jagir period the contacts between the village people and State administration were on a very limited scale, and were confined mostly to payment of land revenue and settlement of land disputes. Occasionally, criminal offences and civil suits of a serious nature were tried in

the law courts in the city. Now and then State officials visited the 178
village on tour. In the second half of the Jagir period these administrative 369
contacts increased very considerably. At the same time
the urban contacts of a section of the village population also grew
gradually. These included visiting relations and friends in the
city, receiving relations and friends from the city, occasional
excursions for shopping in the large city stores and markets as
well as for sight-seeing, temporary stay of a short or long duration
for work in the city, and finally being in everyday touch with
officials resident in the village, who were regarded as an urban element
in the village population. Increased contacts with the towns [491]
and cities were greatly facilitated by the construction of the
metalled road joining Hyderabad with the district headquarters of
Karimnagar in the interior of the State. This road touches Shamirpet.
With the introduction of bicycles and buses frequent and
regular contacts with the urban areas were made possible. The 178
progress of education has been rather slow. In the early-Jagir days 871
only a few children belonging to the higher castes, and also to the
upper level families, received any schooling. Even this was confined
to a bare acquaintance with three R's. With the opening of a
school in the village education was placed within the reach of a
much larger section and even some untouchable children started
attending the school. Some ambitious parents sent their children
to the higher schools in the city where they could learn English.
Books, periodicals and newspapers which occasionally found their [204]
way into the village conveyed to the people 'strange truths regarding
the wide world through the medium of the printed word'.
The State administration initiated some of its welfare and nation-building
activities in the countryside. Agriculture, Veterinary and 178
Animal Husbandry, Medical and Public Health, and Co-operation 654
and Rural Development departments of the State started
functioning in the rural areas. Their representatives and propagandists
brought some new ideas and techniques to the village.
The villagers saw their demonstrations, heard their talks, and
were at times even coaxed into doing things in the new ways. This
was indeed novel to them. In the earlier period government had
only collected land revenue, heard some of their disputes, tried
cases arising out of breaches of law, and occasionally forced them
to provide practically free labour and 'presents' for touring government
officials, but had never interfered with their agricultural

17 [65-1] practices or with their methods of cattle keeping. Compulsory vaccination and inoculation were introduced. The village people did not clearly understand the implications of the political movements that were developing in the city. The Muslims, thinking that they belonged to the 'ruling race', supported the Nizam and later the communalist Muslim party. The educated and city-influenced Hindus had sympathy with the Ārya Samaj (a Hindu revivalist and reformist body), and the State Congress (a democratic political party affiliated to the Indian National Congress and dedicated to the ideal of self-government and democracy within the State), but could not express their sympathies openly. At least outwardly the landed Hindu peasantry maintained a loyalist attitude towards the established authority. These were the major influences that operated in the community. Nearly all of them had a slow and uncertain start, but gradually their intensity and effectiveness increased. As an outcome of their operation, at the close of the Jagir period, we get a picture of the village which is very different from the one that it would have presented in the pre- or early-Jagir period.

What then are the main lines of variation? In what spheres of community life are the changes most pronounced? As we find them most pronounced in material culture and technology, it would be appropriate to begin our analysis of change with this aspect of life. These changes have resulted in the acquisition of new habits and styles, of new tools and technological processes, and of a new outlook on things in general.

291 178 In the dress and ornaments of the village people there has been very noticeable change. The old-style peasant dress is now giving way to new-style clothes cut and stitched in imitation of the urban style. While it is still common to see an Indian lower garment—Hindu *dhoti* or Muslim *pyjama*—Western-style shirts with collars have mostly replaced the native upper garments. In the former times only the village headman, rich Reddis and Muslims, and the high-caste Brahmins and Komtis wore 'respectable' and semi-urban clothing, and that too only when they were to receive an important visitor or while going to the city. With the exception of this small minority, all others wore the traditional peasant dress. Spinning was done on the hand-wheel at home and cloth was woven by village weavers. Now the situation has changed. At present hardly any spinning is being done by the people, and the village weaver buys his yarn from the shops in the city.

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buys his yarn from the shops in the city. The clothing to-day can 291 178 be classified into three main types: the average peasant dress, the old-style respectable dress, and the new-style clothing. In all the three types of clothes mill-made cloth is extensively used. For shirts and vests practically everyone uses mill-made cloth. The same is true of materials used for the bodices and blouses of women. Before the Second World War mill-made women's *saris* were capturing the village markets, and were making the position rather difficult for the village weaver who was unable to withstand this competition. However, due to acute war-time shortages, particularly of *saris*, there was a switch back to the locally woven material. In the three styles of clothing enumerated above, those adopting the new are imitating the current urban styles. In these two different trends can be observed: Indian clothing and semi-Indian clothing. Most people in this group are young men. During the Muslim régime they had taken to *pyjama* (thin white trousers) and *sherwani* (long, buttoned-up-to-the-neck coats) which were then extremely popular. The *kurta*—long loose tunic popularized by the Congress in the civil disobedience days—became a mark of patriotism and is currently the accepted respectable dress with young men. It can be worn with both *dhoti* and *pyjama*. Shirts with collars, shorts and European-style jackets were also used by this section. Knitted vests too became very popular. Items of clothing introduced more recently are trousers and bush-jackets. These are confined mostly to people who have served in the Hyderabad Army or who have had some small jobs in the city. In the old-style respectable dress not much change is in evidence. During the Muslim régime the clothing of the respectable people had acquired a definite court touch, and a long coat and lambskin cap became the dress of the respectable city-going village people. With the decline of Muslim rule in Hyderabad this cap was discarded by the Hindus as it symbolized their subordination to the Muslims. It has been replaced by an ordinary black cap, and the traditional long coat is still in use. The average peasants' and workers' dress has not changed much, but it is now made of mill-cloth. Many of the agriculturists and artisans, and indeed some poorer people, buy shirts with collars, and coats, to wear on special occasions. Among women brightly coloured and gaudily printed clothes have become popular. City manufactured trinkets are 301 178 eagerly bought by them. Bangles, which every Hindu woman whose

301 husband is alive must wear, were formerly made by one of the
178 local castes from indigenous materials. Now factory-made glass
bangles have captured the market almost completely. Children's
291 dresses are now generally of Western style. Frocks, rompers,
178 shirts and shorts are bought for them from the local market or
from the shops in the city. Among other items of everyday wear Western-style shoes with laces are now being used alongside country shoes and sandals.

178 To the list of articles of daily requirement there have been several
415 significant additions. Aluminium and 'German silver' utensils became very popular with the poorer sections of the population on account of their low prices. Glasses, as well as china cups and saucers, could be seen in several homes. Besides the public buildings five private homes now possess wall or alarm clocks. Kerosene lanterns can be seen in several homes, and there are five kerosene pressure lamps in the village. Some old people use reading glasses, and more then half a dozen young men from the village have bought sun glasses. Several people in the village use safety razors and torches. Cheap fountain-pens are also very fashionable.

178 In the food habits of the people there has not been much change.
Sweets and other dainty eatables are bought from the shops
262 in the city or from the bazaar. Five small stores in the village sell, among other things, lozenges, fruit-drops and biscuits made in Hyderabad. Tea and coffee are also very popular. Even those who do not drink these beverages regularly at home, occasionally have them in the village shop ostentatiously known as the 'hotel'. Aerated waters enjoy an amazing popularity as they are believed
[276] to provide relief from many stomach disorders. The cigarette factories at Hyderabad have been producing and popularizing cheap brands of cigarettes, which have been progressively replacing the country cigarettes in which tobacco is rolled in dried leaves. Along with fermented palm-juice, some people now drink other liquors supplied by distilleries in Hyderabad.

178 Side by side with the traditional recreations of gossip, loafing and playing indigenous games, several new varieties of entertainments are now available to the village people. The village has three
[524] gramophones. In the tea shop there is a crystal radio. Some young
[546] men in the village play volley-ball. Many people patronize the circus and cinema in the city.

THE CHANGING SCENE

Changes in tools and technical processes are also important. 178
Barbers, carpenters, blacksmiths and goldsmiths are now using 413
factory-made tools and instruments. The village tailor has a sewing
machine. It is significant that there has been no mentionable
change in agricultural tools. In farming methods, however, some
changes have taken place. Improved seeds are being used by 178
many cultivators. The value of green manure is realized by an 241
increasing number of agriculturists. Oil cakes, castor, ammonium
sulphate, and a special concoction of chemical fertilizers known
as 'paddy mixture' are now being used. More attention is given
to growing vegetables. A greater percentage of cultivators is now
growing 'cash crops'.

Communications too have now improved. Many persons take 178
advantage of the bus service. There are six private bicycles in the 489
village. A shop-keeper has four more which can be hired. The
headman of the village has recently bought a 1928 model Ford.
The traditional bullock carts are still largely used for transportation
of goods, and also for travel.

The opening of a small dispensary in the village, and the 178
availability of excellent facilities of modern medical treatment in 755
the city have considerably changed the attitude of the people
towards diseases and their treatment. Although people still 757
believe that smallpox and cholera are the result of the wrath of
two goddesses and annually organize ceremonies in their honour
on behalf of the village, the old fear of vaccination and inoculation
has now practically disappeared. People no longer run away from
the village on the appearance of the vaccinator, nor do they offer
him bribes or threats for being spared the cruelty of vaccination.
Divination, protective magic, chants and spells are all still
employed to ward off disease and difficulty, but at the same time
increasing use is being made of modern medicine. Age-old
prescriptions of indigenous herbs are generally used for fevers and
other common ailments. But when the disease takes a serious turn
the patient may even be removed to a hospital in the city. Injections which were greatly feared a few decades ago are now eagerly
sought as they are believed to give quick and sure relief from all
ailments. Some people keep a limited stock of some of the popular
and cheap patent medicines. Medicines for virility and strength
prominently advertised in newspapers are obtained by post.

The social structure of the community is basically the same, 178

THE CHANGING SCENE

178 621 The social structure of the village is basically the same although with every administrative or political change in the village there were several organizational changes. The primary unit in this structure is either the elementary family (maintaining close contacts with allied families) or it is a large joint family. The head of each family is known as the 'big man'. The next unit is the caste; or in the case of the Muslims, the group sharing a common religion. Each of these groups has a hereditary caste headman who represents it in the village council. Finally, this council consists of these headmen of the different castes, three Ganadi and the headman of the village who is its presiding officer. The following tables show the significant lines of variation in social organization, with special reference to family, caste and village council:

178 596

I—FAMILY

Then	*Now*
(1) Insistence on family solidarity and cohesion.	(1) Growth of individualism.
(2) Greater attachment to the soil and settlement.	(2) Migrations more frequent.
(3) Intra-family relations governed by regard for age and kinship status.	(3) Less regard for these traditional principles.

178 564

II—CASTE

Then	*Now*
(1) Occupational specialization on the basis of caste.	(1) Caste no longer the final and only determinant of occupation.
(2) Prohibition on inter-dining with some equal castes and all lower castes.	(2) Rules of inter-dining less rigid.
(3) Hierarchy and permanent distance between different castes.	(3) Mild protest against social hierarchy: some modification in actual practice.

178 623

III—VILLAGE COUNCIL

Then	*Now*
(1) Constituted on hereditary principles.	(1) Also admits people with 'achieved status'.
(2) Little outside intervention.	(2) Considerable outside pressure.
(3) Decisions generally accepted.	(3) Defiance or avoidance possible.

THE CHANGING SCENE

In the organization of the family the changed conditions and 596
changing attitudes of the people have brought about some significant 178
variations. It is difficult to present it statistically, but it could 166
generally be said that in recent years the cohesion of the family
has suffered on account of the growth of the spirit of individualism. 369
Thereby family solidarity has been adversely affected. The people
no longer have the same attachment for the soil of their settlement,
and consequently mobility has increased. Among the younger
people, especially among those who have had some education or
urban contacts, the desire to go to the city is manifesting itself on an
increasing scale. In making records of the biographies and general
attitudes of the people, the contrast in the attitudes of the two
steps of people emerged clearly. While the elderly and the middle- [212]
aged, mostly illiterate, complained about the inconveniences
of village life, they still regarded it as the only way of life possible
for *them*. On the other hand, the younger people seemed to idealize
the city and its numerous attractions, and made no effort to conceal
their contempt for the rustic ways of the village-folk. This
change in attitudes and preferences has on the one hand encouraged
migration to cities of young people who take up the small jobs
there; and on the other it has generated disharmony and dissensions
within the family causing considerable dislocation in the
established principles according to which priorities and concessions
went with age and kinship status. Service in the army, and city
restaurants and the influence of the cinema tend to accentuate
all this, but so far the number of young men with these tendencies
is not more than 10% or 15% of the total in their age-group.

The caste system in the community presents only slight variations 564
in some directions. As before, caste still retains its endogamous 178
character. Similarly, caste continues to be a part of, and is
sanctioned by, the traditional religion. However, its occupational
character has undergone some change. People are now taking to
new occupations. A goldsmith has opened a tea shop. Washermen
and similar other castes are accepting menial jobs in the city.
These are not their traditional occupations. Besides Muslims some
non-Komti Hindus have set up general shops in the village; in the
traditional system only Komtis could do so. Thus people are either
giving up their traditional occupations, or they are taking to
occupations which by tradition belong to some other castes.

564 178 Prohibitions on inter-dining are still there; but they have been greatly relaxed. As a general rule people observe them within the village, but ignore them when they eat in the shops or restaurants in the city. The caste system is still characterized by its traditional hierarchy, but some ineffective verbal protests can now be heard against it. Among the castes on the lower level of the agriculturist group there has been some effort made at rising in the social scale by the adoption of surnames and caste appellations traditionally belonging to the higher groups. Although it has been legally abolished by the Constitution of the Republic of India, untouchability is still practised within the village. However, untouchable children can now attend the village school. Clean castes and unclean castes both ride in the same buses. No objection is taken if untouchables now dress like respectable people of the higher castes. As the colonies of the two untouchable castes are quite separate from the main village settlement and have their own wells, there has so far been no problem of their being able to draw water from the well used by the higher castes. Untouchables certainly resent their degraded status, but they are careful not to voice their protests too loudly or too publicly for they are conscious of the advantages of silence in view of their dependent position in the economic structure of the community.

178 623 Traditionally the membership of the village council is hereditary and should be inherited by the eldest male child on the death of the father. In the case of the inheritance of the office of village headman this principle has been strictly observed. Two Ganadis inherited their office from their fathers, but an additional post of Ganadi has been created in recent years to accommodate a young man who had considerable influence over his age-group and who was creating problems in the village. From among the heads of the different castes resident within the village, eight are at present ineffective, titular members, and are represented in its deliberations by some other more vocal and assertive members of the caste. Seven other rich and influential persons are also invited to participate in the proceedings. It is said that before the Jagir period there was very little outside pressure on the village council. In the Jagir period the estate officials tried to influence it indirectly. At present government officials residing within the village discreetly pull the strings and exert pressure on the council to secure favourable decisions in certain cases in which for some

reason they happen to be interested. In former times, as a general rule, the decisions of the village council were accepted unconditionally. Even to-day none can defy them openly, but often the cases are taken to superior law courts and factionalism within the council is exploited to get its decisions altered or modified. 178 623

In the traditional economic structure of the community the following characteristics were important: 178 437 463

(i) Occupation was determined by the caste of the individual.

(ii) Mobility was limited and people had great attachment to the settlement.

(iii) Different castes were integrated into the overall pattern of village economy on the basis of their functional specialization. For their co-operative labour payment was made in kind at the time of harvesting.

(iv) There was barter of occupational services between the various artisan and occupational castes.

It has already been pointed out that in the last few decades the occupational character of caste has undergone some modifications. In place of their traditional occupations people have started accepting other vocations. The traditional system of caste interdependence under which artisan and occupational castes attach themselves to the families of agriculturists is still there. But the attached labourers of untouchable castes are showing signs of discontent and figures for the last ten years show twenty-one migrations of Madiga families to the city. Barbers, washermen and carpenters also openly express preference for a basis of cash payment as that enables them to negotiate and bargain and puts an end to the uncertainty and occasional high-handedness of the employer under the old system. The traditional arrangements involving the barter of occupational services between artisan castes too is now gradually breaking down and is giving place to a basis of cash payment.

In the ritual structure of the community no significant variations have been found. Under the Muslim régime, Hindus co-operated in the public ceremonies of the Muslims. With the spread of the revivalist and reformist ideas of the Arya Samaj greater interest was taken in the Hinduism of the holy books. Preachers invited from the city added to the folklore of the people some fragments of traditional Hindu mythology. However, the regional cults as 178 796

well as the village cults still continue to retain their former position.

000 well as the village cults still continue to retain their former position.

● 178 The Police Action undertaken by the Indian Union in 1948
621 changed the fortune and status of the State of Hyderabad. The
most significant outcome was that political power changed hands—from an extremist communal party to the people of the State. It had a profound effect on the rural areas. However, sufficient time must elapse before we can evaluate its total influence on the life of the community. But it has set in motion certain trends which are not without interest to the student of social change in peasant communities.

178 The first definite change is that Muslims who occupied a privi-
578 leged position during the former régime now no longer do so.
On account of some of their un-neighbourly acts of terrorism
621 during the last phase of extremist Muslim rule in the State some
of them had become very unpopular. Fearing retaliation by the Hindus they ran away from the village temporarily. Now they have all returned. For some time they were jeered at and ridiculed, but at the time of our study cordiality had returned to the Hindu and Muslim sections of the population.

178 The second noticeable change is that under the administrative
651 reforms initiated by the new administration forced labour and
forced extraction of hospitality by government officials have been
661 prohibited. In practice they still continue on a restricted scale.
Government's decision to take determined steps against bribery and corruption has been announced; but firm action still remains to be taken in this direction.

423 Thirdly, the abolition of feudal estates has been a big step in
178 the direction of land reform. With the end of the Jagirdari system
Shamirpet has once again come under normal district administration. Further reforms ensuring a more equitable distribution of land, fixing a maximum limit on land holding and ending the evils of absentee landlordism are under contemplation. When these plans materialize substantial changes can be expected.

178 Fourthly, the government has intensified its welfare and nation-
704 building activities. The village is to have a better school in the
near future. The Public Health Department is already more
654 active. The Agriculture and Veterinary departments are making
a better planned and organized effort towards the introduction

of more scientific methods in their respective fields. But the results of these efforts can be judged only after a few years.

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of these efforts can be judged only after a few years.

Finally, there has been considerable activity in the rural areas 178
by the political parties, culminating in the first general election of 665
December 1951. This experience has been totally new to the 664
villages in Hyderabad. As the Congress is the ruling party in the country, the loyalists have transferred their allegiance from the Nizam to the Congress. At any rate publicly they profess their loyalty to this organization. Because the headman of the village belongs to this group, the faction opposed to him in village matters allied itself to the Socialist party. The Communist party was illegal, but it had operated in the neighbouring area for a long time, and it was a candidate sponsored by it who ultimately won the election. Most people do not understand the intricacies of politics, and indeed frankly say so. Election propaganda has of course put several ideas into the minds of the people and raised new hopes. Those who have some educational or urban background are trying to come forward in this new field of activity. One observable consequence of this has been the revival of casteism. Although nearly every political party in its platform slogans paid lip service to the ideal of a casteless and classless society, in actual selection of the candidates due thought was given to the caste composition of the electoral districts. A candidate's pull over the members of his caste was an additional factor which was taken into account in such politically inexperienced territories as Hyderabad. In the countryside the election propaganda did take a sectarian turn and according to the occasion Hindu versus Muslim, or Reddi versus non-Reddi sentiments were freely exploited. Voting in several areas was largely done on caste considerations. The caste rivalries engendered by it lingered on even when the election was over.

Let us now briefly examine the motivation and mechanism of 178
this process of social change. What are the major factors inspiring this change? And through what agencies does this change come about? In other words why is the community adopting new ways of life and thought, and under whose leadership are the traditional ways of the group being modified?

The reasons for change must be sought in a multiplicity of factors. In the words of Raymond Firth, 'Structural change is a product of social interaction, in which pressures are felt, 178 advantages perceived, responsibilities recognized.'[1] Extending this approach to technical and organizational changes in peasant communities, we can attribute some changes in the life-ways of the people to State compulsion and legal prescription. In some spheres, particularly in material culture and technology, utility, convenience, availability and price determine to a great extent 178 the adoption of new elements and traits. The prestige factor too is significant, for any externally induced or internally inspired 554 change in the system of status evaluation brings in its wake significant modifications in the organization and life-ways of society. Innovation, variety and change for its own sake can also account for substantial variation from established norms in social behaviour at a given point of time. In a small rural community such as Shamirpet, which is situated near a big and modern city and is in everyday contact with it, the prevailing climate of opinion in social, economic and political matters in the city is bound to influence its general outlook and ways, for apart from their practical value city-ways are gradually coming to be regarded as more 'respectable' and 'progressive'.

179 So far State compulsion has been instrumental in bringing about little social and cultural change in the village community. [151] Compulsory vaccination as well as inoculation at the time of an epidemic appear to be the only significant measures enforced by the State which have been accepted in the everyday life of the com- [783] munity. Although untouchability has been abolished by law, in actual practice it only gives to the hitherto untouchables an equal share in public utilities, for considerations of pollution bar all effective interaction between the high and the low castes especially in the social spheres of inter-dining and inter-marriage. Symbolic as it is, this gesture of the State has nevertheless brought about a considerable modification in the inter-group attitudes between the clean and untouchable castes.

178 The factors of utility, convenience and availability have played 757 a more important role in bringing several new elements into the life of the community. Although indigenous herbs and magico-religious practices are still continued in the treatment of diseases, the efficacy and utility of allopathic drugs and injections have greatly changed the attitude of the people towards modern medicine. I have pointed out earlier that they eagerly seek these

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[1] Raymond Firth, *Elements of Social Organization* (London, 1951), p. 85.

medicines and injections. The old beliefs and practices survive, 178
partly because of the non-availability of quick and efficient 757
modern treatment, and partly also because of its prohibitive cost.
Besides the two systems do not conflict, and in order to be doubly
sure, most people continue magico-religious practices along with
modern medicinal treatment. Adoption of several new tools and 178
instruments for occupational work, as well as of several other items 401
of Western technology, such as buses, railways, razors, and
electric torches, introduced in the comparatively recent times is
due to their efficiency and utility. In the matter of dress and ornament 178
other factors must also be taken into account. Mill-made 291
cloth was not regarded only as cheap and more durable; it came
to be looked upon as more respectable also. The coarse handloom
cloth was regarded as rustic, the finer mill-cloth, on the other
hand, was more refined and dignified. Further, mill-made
cloth allowed a wider range of choice in the matter of colours,
designs and patterns. The style of dress was influenced by a
variety of factors. Under Muslim rule the style of dress of
the rulers became fashionable. With Congress in power there was
a sudden switch from the Muslim court-dress to Congress-patronized
national dress. Modern Indian—as well as Western-style
clothes—cigarettes, sun-glasses and tea are not only
popular because of their utility, they possess a great prestige value
as well.

Influence of the city has brought about adjustment and modification 178
in several spheres, but the need of balancing different 621
extremes in the organization of the community has so far prevented
any drastic structural change in village communities.
Under the impact of the new socio-economic factors the family ties [554]
have weakened, the kin-group has lost some of its characteristic
strength and in the system of status evaluation achieved-status
is competing with traditionally ascribed status; but the
society still continues to be caste-structured as caste plays a vital
role in its social, economic and ritual organization. Democracy [165]
has brought in its wake party organization and elections which
demand group formation and group allegiance: in several rural
areas no new groups have emerged, the loyalties of the people
have only been re-affirmed to the pre-existing caste groups. While 178
no important social or economic projects and reforms have so far 621
been put into operation, the first major political change—the 666

178 621 [666] introduction of democratic elections—has demonstrated the strength of the traditional system which has made a bid for absorbing 'political group formation' and 'democratic elections' in its all-embracing caste structure. Deeper and more far-reaching economic and technological changes, as well as externally induced social reform, touching the basic framework of rural societies, may present a different set of problems and test the strength of the caste structure. Under their new pressures and incentives the community may have to work out a new pattern of adjustment which may necessitate important structural changes.

178 Limited as this change has been, it is none the less not unimportant to ask who inspires and leads this movement towards modification of traditional ways and adoption of new elements of culture. To answer this question it is necessary to analyse the major cultural trends operating in India as a whole. Viewing the country broadly, we find three major trends: (i) the regional culture, founded on the traditions, customs and life-ways of the culture-area; (ii) the national culture, comprising some all-India traits inspired by the national renaissance, cemented by the struggle for self-government as well as by social and economic reform, and sustained by the will to find a rightful place in the comity of nations; the elements in this category being partly revivalistic and partly conscious innovations; and (iii) adoption of traits and elements from Western technology and culture. Besides these, in any given area the 'urban' and 'folk' or rural patterns are clearly distinguishable. While in the urban areas all the three trends delineated above are found to operate with more or less equal force, in the rural areas the folk variety of the regional culture is still predominant although it has been modified by national and Western elements. The inspiration and lead for modification in the traditional ways definitely come from the urban areas brought into the village community by semi-urbanized people or inspired by the example of urban relatives. In the Indian setting while there is no polarity between 'folk' and 'urban' societies, for a proper perspective of social change this classificatory device can be used very effectively. On a limited scale the struggle for supremacy between 'old' and 'new' or between 'tradition' and 'progress' goes on in cities and smaller towns also, and every generation finds itself with a modified set of values. The rural communities clearly take the lead from the urban areas, although

not without hesitation, misgivings, doubts and an initial resistance. 178 The unfortunate class of people who are semi-rural and semi-urbanized find themselves rejected by both sides: they are held suspect by their fellow-villagers as demeaned by urban associations, and are looked down upon by their urban associates for their rustic ways. Petty government servants and town-returned village-folk are not expressly recognized as leaders of the community, but all the same they set the wheels of the community in motion in the direction of social change. It is through this class of people that urban items of regional culture, and several items of the national and Western cultures are brought into the community and hesitatingly absorbed into its life. Their selection or rejection naturally depends upon their need, utility, prestige-value and conformity with or opposition to the prevailing set of values in the community.

The village people have always idealized their traditional life-ways, 178 and have shown unmistakable suspicion for those of the city, 369 but have generally followed the lead of the élite, which formed the dominant social group, though sometimes with their own modifications and adaptations. The gradual adoption of Sanskritic ritual by the rural communities was the first major triumph of this group in the past. The process still continues, but now 'progressive' and 'modern' elements are gradually filtering in through the semi-urbanized village-folk.

To conclude, a few remarks may be made about the influence 829 of these new trends on the ethos and world-view of the people.

The episodic, topical and complete life-histories recorded in the course of our investigations, supplemented by observation and records of conflicts and co-operative activities in Shamirpet, provide the material for these observations on the villagers' world-view. It is necessary to point out that so far no depth-psychology studies have been done in this area nor has there been any systematic attempt to study the cultural aspects of personality. In the absence of such studies, only an outline of the dominant attitudes and goals which are characteristic of the society can be attempted. In this context, following John Gillin, 'Ethos is taken to mean the constellation of acquired drives or motivations which are characteristic of a culture, plus the goals which are both explicit and implicit, towards which

871 *Education.*—A day school has recently been started with 40 on
the roll, 25 average attendance. Most of the pupils come from other
[212] villages. Three adults are able to read the vernacular. Eight can
write their signatures. The karnam alone can read and write well.
[191] About five or six have learned to read and write but have lost the
ability latterly. No one knows English.

214 There are about 50 or 60 books, all in Telugu. Of these about seven or eight relate to the Hindu Law and to village administration. The rest relate to the Puranas.

624 *Village administration.*—There is no panchayat.

There is a monigar and a karnam and two talaiyaris. The karnam keeps the accounts of the village, and the monigar is the village magistrate and collects the kist. The talaiyaris are the servants attached to the village. There is no sanitary administration.

625 The nearest Police station is situated at a distance of 12 miles in Sodam, which station was formerly at Kandur.

In recent years there has been practically no crime. About five years ago there was a murder, never detected.

691 For the present there is only one case belonging to this village pending judgment at the Sessions Court, Chittoor. This is about a land dispute.

Ordinarily disputes are settled here in the presence of the monigar, karnam, and some leading men of the village.

178 *History and prospects.*—There has been economic deterioration due to the scarcity of rains and the consequent failure of crops. The ryots have been impoverished and consequently obliged to get into the clutches of creditors.

For the present there does not seem to be scope for economic improvement. The tanks are all getting silted up. The bunds are getting decreased in height. Recently one bund burst. The persons concerned are very poor to bear the cost of repairs. But if the repairs are executed then there might be some improvement and the area of irrigated lands might be extended.

437 More wells could be sunk with advantage. They are not sunk owing to lack of funds with the ryots. People sell land owing to the fact that by doing so only they can support their families and themselves. Land is bought by well-to-do persons as a sort of investment and also because it is sometimes had at a price lower than its right worth.

167 In recent years there has been no emigration at all. But about ten years ago two persons of Yekili caste emigrated to Natal. They have not since returned. Their emigration was due to their failure to get a living here.

Such movements have generally no visible effect on the life of the village.

325 Another interesting point is that smelting ovens are seen all round the village in a state of ruin. It seems that formerly (about thirty or forty years ago) iron ore found all round the village was smelted here locally, and that this was sufficient for the local demand. But now no such practice exists. However iron is still found in the shape of filings in large or small quantities round about. Moreover this iron is held to be of good quality. More detailed information can be had from the North Arcot District Manual, wherein it is mentioned.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India

Telugu AW17

871 rooms. The school buildings have been erected at the cost of the villagers. Efforts are being made to provide more accommodation. The school trains pupils for the Kanarese Lower Secondary Examination and instruction is given in Kanarese. Now efforts are being made to open classes in English and also to open a school exclusively for girls. There are about fifty boys in attendance and about fifty girls. School is held from 6-30 to 10-30 in the morning and from 2 to 6 in the evening. No time is allowed for play at all. Instruction is in Kanarese, although the language the people speak is Telugu.

[191] The number of persons who know how to read the vernacular is 131; fifteen or sixteen can read and write English.

[213] There are about thirty or forty books almost all in Sanskrit and Kanarese.

A night school has recently been opened. It has twenty on the rolls, mostly adults. Average attendance five.

623 *Village administration.*—There is a panchayat composed of five members. The main work of the panchayat lies in the field of village improvement in the different branches of education, sanitation, etc.

624 There is a patel and a shanbhog. The shanbhog's duty lies in keeping the village accounts. The patel is concerned with the general oversight of the village and the collection of revenue. There are four servants, two for police purposes and the two others concerned in the collection of revenue.

364 *Sanitary administration.*—The panchayat is concerned with the sanitary administration of the village. The panchayat holds meetings when occasion arises and takes steps to improve the sanitation of the village. Every Monday each family supplies half a day's labour, compoundable by a money payment of an anna. This does what is needful for the sanitation of the village. The panchayat exercises a general oversight in these matters. The Sanitary Inspector and the District Health and Sanitary Officer inspect the village often.

625 There is a police sub-station with a daffadar and five police constables. During nights, three other men watch the village; their services are purely voluntary and unpaid.

624 The higher authorities are the Amildar, Assistant Commissioner, and the Deputy Commissioner. The Amildar is the only official with whom there is contact at all often. The others visit the village about once or twice in a year. There is a resident shaikdar or revenue inspector.

674 *Crime.*—There have been practically no crimes punishable with capital punishment hitherto. Whatever crime there has been consists only of burglaries and minor thefts. These too are rare. For the past six years there has been only one burglary (in 1916); valuables were lost to the value of Rs. 150.

691 No villagers are engaged in litigation. Almost all civil disputes are decided in the village itself by the panchayat.

● 178 426 *History and prospects.*—There has been economic deterioration due to the scarcity of rains and the consequent failure of crops. The ryots have been obliged to borrow and this is very well evidenced by the amount of rural indebtedness. No remission is

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India

Telugu AW17

Socially, it[1] increases drunkenness in the lower classes; and I find more crimes in summer than in other seasons. 273 674

But it[1] has turned the honest and sympathetic ryots into greedy money-lenders and capitalists. It has increased the lust for gold. 178 True that the poorer classes have an opportunity of clearing off 556 their family debts; true that they find sufficient food to eat in summer at least; true that there is more money in the village now 477 than 20 years ago. But equally is it true that there are more debts now; that the gulf between the rich and the poor is widened more and more; that the once poor are now poorer and the once rich now richer. There is greater struggle, greater competition, and greater rises and falls of life.

Economic history of the village.—When compared with fifteen 178 years ago, the village has, on the whole, progressed economically. True that estates once united are now split up into fragments; and that the once poor have now become poorer. True that there are cases where people borrow money and purchase land with it; and then sell it again to clear off that debt some years later. Still the village has improved. There is increase and improvement in agriculture. Many fields that were once forest are now brought under cultivation. There is more money in the village now than 20 years ago, more produce is now exported from the village than before. The introduction of the railway near by has revolutionized the commercial condition of the village. Prices have risen both of the commodities produced and of land in general, three or fourfold. There is a greater inflow of foreign goods into the village. Kerosene oil has completely driven out castor oil. There are sixteen Japanese wind-proof lamps in the village. The standard of living has decidedly been raised. Among the lower castes to eat solid food was a luxury; conjee, prepared of korra and ragi, was the food for all the lower castes, including Sudras. Now they all eat rice and cholam and wear better clothing. But the money is ultimately finding its destination into the hands of the rich money-lenders. Formerly there was enough corn in the land and there was a sort of self-sufficiency. Now there are more debts, consequently more ruin of families with the higher rates of interest, and greater servitude and misery.

If the Government were to open a sugar factory and utilize the jaggery, both the Government and the villagers would be profited. Wells can be very profitably sunk in the fields. But the ryots never do it, though it costs only Rs. 200. A ryot is prepared to spend even Rs. 1,500 in litigation but not Rs. 200 for a well in his fields, even though he is rich and knows that it is profitable. By example they may improve.

The Brahmans have almost lost their former property for want of any profession, while they incur heavy expenses for marriages, etc. Only one family is now well off. The Vaisyas too have lost their former lands by litigation, marriages, and other expenses. On the whole, the Sudras have grown richer, both with agriculture and the jaggery trade, and the rise of prices for their produce. The weavers, washermen, the Panchamas, many of the Sudras, are growing poorer; they are selling off the little lands they have for debts and other expenses.

Lands are sold chiefly to clear off old debts, though there are 426 some cases where profits tempt people to purchase or sell. The

[1] [i.e. the seasonal nature of industrial employment--Analyst]

181

181 ETHOS--general orientation of the culture; predominating interests, values, themes, and motivations; characterizations of the total culture (e.g., as "conservative," "competitive," "militaristic," "spirit-ridden," "Apollonian," "folk," "urban"); allegations and inferences as to national character; etc.

See also:

Cooperation and competition	47	General character of religion	771
Prevalent personality types	187	Social philosophy	829
Ethics	577		

183

183 **NORMS**--native and scientific definitions of custom (e.g., as ideal patterns, as ranges of variation within limits, as statistical inductions from observed behavior); positive and negative norms (e.g., folkways, taboos); verbalized and covert norms; investment of norms with affect and symbolic value (e.g., mores, idealization); discrepancies between ideals and behavior; configurations of norms (e.g., culture complexes, institutions); etc. See also:

Attitudes	208	Taboos	784
Ethical ideals	577	Transmission of social norms	867
Legal norms	671		

571 come forward very readily to help those who need it. It is common
157 to suspect others' motives; and not unusual to be always on the alert to read hidden meanings into the seemingly innocent utterances of others. Analysis of their life-histories shows that the people are not given to introspection. They are always on the defensive; but their inter-personal relations are not characterized by detachment. In their thoughts, likes and dislikes they are quite open, and ~~all persons~~ having even casual contacts have a fair acquaintance with one anothers' ideas and attitudes

829 It is not uncommon for people to analyse and describe the
[186] personality-traits of other inhabitants of the village as well as of
577 outsiders coming into the settlement. Positive qualities, having obvious approval, find expression in such epithets as: 'good person', 'hard-working', 'honest', 'respectable', 'well-behaved', 'intelligent', 'generous' or 'large-hearted' and 'faithful'. Epithets describing negative traits which do not meet with social approval are many and varied, and among others include: 'bad person', 'lazy', 'dishonest', 'shameless', 'mannerless', 'foolish', 'miserly', 'small-hearted', 'unfaithful', 'good-for-nothing', 'liar', 'all talk but
[521] no deeds', 'ill-tempered', etc. Analysis of such traits is firmly established in the culture-pattern, and occupies an important place in the conversation of the people when they meet in small groups.
[183] Although conformity to social norms is idealized and emphasized, when there is a breach of traditional ways the person responsible likes to confess it in confidence to someone else. Long conversations and the mutual sharing of secrets are quite frequent. However, when friendships break up the sanctity of earlier secrets is not protected by any code of honour. Within limits originality and innovation are admired; but excess and ostentation soon lead to social censure and ridicule.

829 Subjects coming under the critical eye of society are: (i)
626 breaches of traditional norms, (ii) display and exhibitionism, (iii)
577 sexuality, (iv) efforts to rise in the power hierarchy, (v) conspicuous success, and (vi) originality and 'too many new ideas'. Carrying tales and 'whispering about the doings in others' houses' go on in the community on a wide scale. It is criticized by the aggrieved persons and their sympathizers, but no one regards it as inherently bad. 'Incidents' or breaches of established norms are discussed in small conversational groups at first, and the more important ones among them gradually filter through and reach the respon-

184

184 CULTURAL PARTICIPATION--prevalence of "specialties" and "alternatives"; degree of proliferation of subcultures, intra-cultural differences, and special statuses; extent to which the entire culture is socially shared; etc. See also:

Social stratification	56
Individual roles within statuses	156
Dialectic differentiation	197
Urban and rural differences	369
Regional specialization in production	438
Occupational specialization	463
Differences in standard of living	511
Ascribed and achievable statuses	554
Ethnic stratification	563

rural community within this region invariably has a number of common cultural characteristics and social forms and values. 621 631

Yet we cannot regard the Indian village community as static, timeless and changeless. Time and the interplay of historical and sociological factors and forces have influenced the structure, organization and ethos of these communities in many significant ways.

II

To-day it is common to speak of the 'Indian village' or of 'the Indian peasant'. While it is true that many problems are common to the entire Indian countryside, this practice tends to give one an impression that the village as a social and cultural unit possesses a basically uniform organization and structure of values all over the Indian sub-continent. This would obviously be an over-simplified presentation of a rather complex situation. For a proper understanding of their social structure as well as of their problems, it is necessary to classify them into clearly distinguishable types. For such classification several criteria could be employed, including, among others, the following: 621 184

i. Size, population and land-area.
ii. Ethnic composition and caste-constitution.
iii. Pattern of land ownership.
iv. Structure of authority and power hierarchy.
v. Degree of isolation.
vi. Local traditions.

Each culture-area of India has its own nomenclature to classify the villages within its territory in respect of their size and population. In the Hindi-speaking parts of north and middle India it is usual to distinguish between *kheda* (a hamlet), *gaon* (a small village) and *kasba* (a large village). In Telangana, the Telugu-speaking part of the State of Hyderabad to which the village of Shamirpet described in this book belongs, a similar distinction is made between *gumpu*, *majra* and *grama*. The first of these denotes a tiny collection of huts, the second is a larger hamlet and the third is the village proper. The differences between these rural settlements are not confined only to their size and population. All three can be classified as belonging to the 'folk society', but they differ so greatly in their internal organization, economic self-sufficiency,

621 patterns of adjustment with the outside world and the degree of
184 influence and prestige in the wider rural community that any
attempt to combine them would be tantamount to overlooking
significant sociological facts. The residents of the large villages look
upon themselves as the leaders of the rural community, regarding
those from smaller villages as a little less civilized and those from
small hamlets as rustics. The man from the smaller village is
suspicious and critical about the ways of the people from bigger
villages, but he has in his heart of hearts an admiration and respect
for them. To him also the people living in still smaller settlements
[476] appear to be rather crude and rustic. As the division of labour in
[463] the community is governed to a very great extent by traditional
caste occupations, and co-operative labour of a number of different
castes is required not only for agricultural activities, but also for
socio-religious life, the large village, having within its population
all the occupational castes, has a comparatively more integrated
and self-sufficient economic and socio-religious life than the
smaller villages, which, in the absence of one or more occupational
castes, may have to depend on some other settlement. Because of
its multi-caste constitution, larger population and greater complexity of internal problems, the organization of the larger village
is often remarkably different from that of smaller villages. In fact,
some of the smaller villages and hamlets come to be regarded as
appendages of the larger villages, and although they have considerable autonomy in domestic matters they are very greatly
influenced by the views and preferences of their larger neighbour.

The ethnic and linguistic composition of a village, as well as its caste constitution, also determines its character. The structure, ethos and problems of a wholly tribal village will be very different from those of a village with a mixed or homogeneous population. A tribal village is often unitary in respect of its authority structure, the tribal authority itself being supreme in secular, ritual and cultural village matters. On the other hand, in the case of a village which has a mixed population of tribes on the one hand and Hindu castes on the other, or of two different groups of parallel Hindu castes separated from each other by the fact that they speak different languages and belong to different culture-areas, or of Hindus and Muslims, the nature of its internal organization and authority is bound to be different. If the diverse elements of its population have equal strength—numerical as well as economic—

it generally has a federal type of organization, in that each culture 621
group within this settlement is semi-autonomous, and a common 184
village authority drawn from all these groups has overriding powers for the community as a whole. In areas where there are intense or even pronounced inter-caste rivalries and tensions, the caste composition of the village will largely determine its patterns of inter-group adjustment.

It goes without saying that in a primarily agricultural country 621
land must be greatly prized; and, with the great pressure of popu- 421
lation and the conditions of private ownership, possession of land 184
has not only an economic but a social and prestige value as well. Where all the land belongs to a landlord or is held by two or more landlords—as in the case of 'joint-villages'—the organization of the village is sure to be very different from that of a village inhabited by proprietary tenants. The general ratio of land distribution between two or more castes, between certain families or between one big landowner and the rest of the community may have a vital influence on the nature of village organization and problems.

No village in India is completely autonomous and independent, 621
for it is always one unit in a wider social system and is a part of an 631
organized political society. An individual is not the member of a 184
village community alone; he also belongs to a caste, religious group or tribe which has a wider territorial spread and comprises several villages. These units have their own organization, authority and sanctions. Politically the villages are under the legislative, executive and judicial authority of the Indian Union and one of its constituent States. For administrative convenience these States are divided into districts, the latter being subdivided into *tehsils* or *taluquas*. In day-to-day administration the villages come into contact with the authorities and officials of this subdivision and of the district, although the laws of the State and the Union are binding on them. The village thus has independence and autonomy only in its domestic affairs. But who exercises the authority in this field? Is there a petty feudal landlord who has some administrative and judicial powers as well? Is there a government-recognized landlord who has arrogated to himself administrative powers? Or, has the village a *panchayat* (village council) constituted on the basis of local tradition? All the feudal states have been abolished in Republican India; but petty feudal estates still continue in

621 some parts of the country, and effective steps have been taken in
631 very few areas to abolish village landlordism. On the other hand,
with a view to reviving village self-government, some State govern-
184 ments are establishing village councils with recognized legal
powers, the members of which are appointed by the government.
Locus of power in the community is another criterion in respect of
which Indian villages often present very different pictures.

369 Nearness to or isolation from large administrative or industrial
621 centres also has a bearing on the nature of the organization of a
184 village and of its view of the world. Availability of or nearness
to modern means of transport and communications also modifies
the setting and fabric of a village, and in its classification it is
necessary to take into account these vital factors.

621 Lastly, village settlements are governed by certain traditions—
184 regional and local. The dress, speech and manners, as well as the
lay-out of the village and construction of the houses, follow the
prescribed patterns of the culture-area. Thus in the different areas
we can naturally look forward to a certain degree of diversity in
village organization. But apart from these regional variations
villages have a corporate unity, and each one possesses an individu-
ality of its own. Some villages are regarded as 'peaceful', others
as 'difficult'. Some have a reputation for generosity and fair play,
while others are notorious for their meanness. Some are known for
being 'upright and strict'; others are criticized for their laxity.
Love of litigation is a characteristic feature of some villages; osten-
tation and display of others; while still others may be very sensitive
about their good name. Again, co-operativeness or its absence may
characterize some villages. These attributes and qualities may
have their roots in strong local traditions or in a combination of
factors working at a particular time. But they do give a distinctive
character to the village, and a study of the social ways, processes
and motivations in such villages will not be without considerable
sociological and psychological interest.

In view of the operation of factors delineated above, it is difficult to regard any one village as typical or representative of rural India as a whole. In fact, I would go a step further to say that such a village could hardly be regarded as representative even of its culture-area, except in a very general way. The problem before the social anthropologist and the sociologist is therefore a complex one, and what we need to-day is a series of studies of village com-

munities from different parts of the country covering the many 621
divergent patterns of organization and ethos. Until this is done 184
our picture of social systems in rural India will remain vague and inadequate.

From the old ethnographic surveys and some preliminary studies published recently, an outline of the structure and organization of Indian villages is beginning to emerge clearly. Notwithstanding many significant differences, they have a number of structural similarities. In the north, middle and peninsular India, as well as in the eastern and western parts of the country, the following features characterize a very large number of villages.

1. As a territorial, as well as social, economic and ritual unit, the village is a separate and distinct entity. The residents of this settlement recognize their corporate identity, and it is recognized as such by others. It is not uncommon to find in them a sentiment of attachment towards their own settlement site. In several matters the village acts as a unit.

2. These settlements have a composite population comprising 621
a number of groups belonging to different Hindu castes, and in 184
some cases to tribes as well as to other religious groups. As far as
the Hindu section of the population goes, these diverse groups are [563]
inter-dependent and integrated in the social, economic, ritual and 564
administrative organization of the community. No caste alone is self-sufficient, for it requires the services of several other occupational castes which hold the monopoly of certain crafts and professions. This system of co-operative labour, based on a pattern of inter-caste relations approved by tradition, is not confined only to economic activities but also extends to ceremonial and ritual life. The hierarchical organization of castes within the community is so fixed in the structural patterns of rural India that the tribal as well as the non-Hindu (such as Muslim and Christian) segments of the population come to be regarded as other castes in the village.

In many parts of India, while maintaining their socio-religious [463]
identity, several of these non-Hindu groups have acquired some caste characteristics, particularly occupational specialization. For example, in some areas of rural India the Muslims function as an occupational caste variously, making fireworks, weaving, driving *tongas*, *ikkahs* and other hackney-carriages, selling vegetables or playing musical instruments.

621
3. The members of this local group are bound together by ties 184

3. The members of this local group are bound together by ties

621 of mutual and reciprocal obligations. Inter-personal and inter-
184 group relations in several spheres of village affairs are governed by
626 an established usage and social ethics. Breaches of the norms of the community and its established usage are dealt with either by the village elders or by a village council. The village council, speaking for the village, has the final authority of social ostracism through which it can effectively enforce its sanctions.

III

114 Modern community studies represent a very significant development in the field of social anthropology and sociology. The concepts and techniques formerly applied to the study and analysis of primitive and isolated tribal societies are now being adapted for the study of peasant communities, non-literate as well as literate, and also for the analysis of more complex and industrialized communities. This new direction in the focus of interest of an increasing number of social scientists and field-workers has inevitably led to important modifications in our conceptual framework and to a sharpening of our tools of research. The methodology of social sciences and techniques of field research have both gained very considerably from this new trend. The work of Robert Redfield, John Gillin, Sol Tax and Ralph Beals, among others, represents a substantial advance in this field, both in theory and in methodology. From Robert Redfield's *Tepotzlan: A Mexican Village* to Oscar Lewis's *Life in a Mexican Village: Tepotzlan Re-Studied* this branch of social anthropological enquiry has travelled far: the former inaugurated an epoch, which then appeared to be full of promise; the latter is a convincing proof of its maturity. On Middle America we now have a series of interesting and useful studies. In other parts of the world also important researches of this kind have been made. Studies of the great peasant societies of the East received encouragement and support from scholars both in Great Britain and in the United States. Malinowski's and Radcliffe-Brown's forewords to the works of Fei and Embree bear testimony to the interest evinced in community studies by the British social anthropologists. The work of Martin C. Yang and Francis L. K. Hsu received constructive support in the United States. A remarkable feature of some of these Far Eastern studies is that they were done not by Western scientists but by scholars

RITUAL STRUCTURE

795 776 [621] Hinduism in the course of the last four or five generations. They do not believe in any of the gods of the Hindu Trinity, nor in any of the later incarnations; but they share with the Hindus a living faith in the existence of malevolent ghosts, spirits and witches. They[1] participate with the rest of the community in village ceremonies and sacrifices. To ward off cholera, plague and smallpox, they too think that it is necessary to propitiate the local deities and goddesses.

779 ● 184 [614] Village Hinduism is not easy to describe. It is an extremely elastic religion, and within its all-India framework admits of a considerable degree of regional and local variation. In his *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India*, M. N. Srinivas has introduced the useful concept of 'spread', and split up village Hinduism into 'All India Hinduism', 'Peninsular Hinduism', 'Regional Hinduism', and 'Local Hinduism'.

776 771 The people of Shamirpet worship all the major gods of the Hindu pantheon, but many of their cults distinctly belong to the complex of ritual that can be regarded as peculiar to peninsular India. Some of these observances present variations which are confined only to this particular village.

The Hindu concept of a Trinity, comprising three manifestations of divinity—Brahma, the creator; Vishnu, the sustainer; and Shiva, the destroyer—has an all-India spread, and in common with the Hindus of the other parts of India the residents of Shamirpet principally worship either Shiva, or Vishnu and his numerous incarnations—particularly Rama and Krishna. 771 171 The concepts of soul (*atma*), of the reckoning of an individual's actions and their consequences on his present and future life (the concept of *karma*), of laying emphasis on the right ordering of life and on doing what is just and moral (concept of *dharma*), of heaven and hell, and finally of the transmigration of the soul and its re-birth also have such an all-India spread; although there are significant regional and local variations in their details. Finally, the nature of rituals connected with the human life-cycle has been very considerably influenced by the Sanskritic ritual of all-India Hinduism, but it still continues to be characterized by some distinctive regional peculiarities.

778 All over India some rivers are regarded as sacred, and legends and cults grow around them. The Godavari is among the rivers whose sanctity and importance have been enhanced by prominent

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[1] [The Muslims — Analyst]

796 for the sake of the fun that they expect to find in the fair. A closer
563 examination of the Hindu festivals and ceremonies reveals that a
large number of all-India Hindu festivals are observed in the com-
munity; but a good many of these are restricted to the 'twice
796 born' castes of the Brahmin and the Komti. Some of them are
564 observed by a few other higher castes, or often only by a few
'respectable' families in these castes. Ceremonies and worship connected with these festivals are conducted by the Brahmin in castes occupying a level higher than that of the Sakali and the Mangali (excluding the Panch Bramha group). The Sakali and the Mangali invite the Brahmin if they can afford it, or else they manage with a caste priest. While the Brahmin and the Komti, of all the castes, are most interested in a majority of the festivals of this category, in the common village ritual they are passive and distant observers. In the two major festivals of the village, which involve considerable inter-caste co-operation, it is the Kummari[1] who officiates as the priest and not the Brahmin. The bulk of Hindus celebrate relatively few of the all-India festivals with great enthusiasm, but it could be said that groups occupying higher rungs in the ladder of caste hierarchy are found to observe more of these festivals. In fact the higher the status of a caste the greater is the number of these that it observes; and thus we find the Komtis observing more of these festivals than any other Hindu caste, with the sole exception of the Brahmin who, being of a superior caste, observes a few festivals more than the Komti. The local village cults are still living and vital. In them the participation of the two highest castes is nominal; but that of the other castes complete. The Kapu group of agricultural castes occupying an intermediate position in the caste hierarchy participate in both sets of rituals with equal enthusiasm.

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4. RITUAL OF THE LIFE CYCLE

The basic pattern of ceremonies connected with the major crises of life is the same in all sections of the Hindus in the village community; but in the minor details of the ritual there is considerable difference in the practices of different castes. More than this, even within a particular caste the rites and observances are not identical, for in some respects individual families have their own traditions. In the course of our field-work we found the catalogu-

[1] [ie, member of potter caste.--ANALYST]

Hindus
Muslims

ing of these variant customs quite a stimulating, though somewhat 184
tedious, task; but a full ethnographic record of them will be out of 561
place here, and only a broad outline of the essentials will be presented, to illustrate their place in the socio-religious life of the Hindus. As the Muslims differ from the Hindus vitally in respect of their *rites de passage* their observances will be described separately.

Birth. On the birth of a child the mother, as well as other members 846
of the family, is ritually impure. On the third or fifth day after the birth the *purudu* rites are performed which remove the ritual impurity of all members of the family except the mother. The mother continues to be ritually impure for twenty-one to thirty days. On the twenty-first day—in some castes on the 553
thirtieth day—the name-giving ceremony of the child takes place. The mother is bathed. The child's head is shaved, and it is put in a cradle. If it is the first child, or the first son, relations from other villages are also invited to participate in the name-giving ceremony. Friends and neighbours from the village itself are always invited. Women sing songs suitable for the occasion. If an ancestor is believed to have taken re-birth the newborn is named after him; otherwise the elders, after mutual consultation or at the suggestion of an important and influential relation, decide upon a name for the child. The name is announced to the assembly of men and women present. Singing is continued for some time longer. The ceremony ends with a feast for relations and some very special friends.

The Brahmin may be consulted for his astrological predictions [787]
regarding the future of the child, and also regarding the implications 852
of the position of the stars at the time of birth for the members of the family. On this occasion the Komtis, the Reddi agriculturists as well as other higher caste Hindus with urban contacts may
also invite him. Women from the barber's caste act as midwives [844]
among all the clean castes; untouchables manage with experienced women from their respective castes. Services of four other castes are essential: the barber for shaving the child's head, the washerman for washing the linen and clothes before the twenty-first day ceremony, the potter for the supply of new pots for ritual purification, and Madigas for playing musical instruments. Payments for these services are prescribed by tradition; and are both in cash and kind.

185

185 CULTURAL GOALS--social foresight; concept of progress; reform movements and utopian goals; prevention of waste; social planning; conservation policies; etc. See also:

Organization of production and distribution .	47
Individual achievement	55
Specific government projects	65
Population policy	168
Dynamics of culture change	178
City planning	361
Land reform	423
Economic planning and development	433
Saving and investment	454
Political doctrines, policies, and programs . .	668
Social insurance	745
Social philosophy	829

1: Dube AW17 Telugu AW17

● 181

[For notes on ethos and world view see category 116, pp. 231-32.]

●
113, 185, 427 Telugu AW17

[For information on tenancy reform legislation in Madras see 39: Patel, AW1 India, category 116, pp. 307-315.]

They mostly hunt small game, and are adept in the use of traps, 224
snares and dogs. At the time of these investigations there were six guns in the village; and occasionally their owners went out shooting. Similarly, fishing is done by very few people, mostly by some 226
young Muslim men. They do not use fishing nets and traps, and practically the only method employed by them for catching the fish is that of using the rod, hook and bait. The large tank in the vicinity of the village could afford a good supply of fish, but the absence of the fishing caste in the village population leaves this possibility almost unexplored. Fishermen from the neighbouring villages, however, periodically come to the tank.

The surroundings of Shamirpet offer very few opportunities 222
for the collection of wild food. Around the village there are not 137
many fruit-bearing trees. Mango and *jamun* (rose apple, *Eugenia jambolana*) fruits are mostly eaten while they are still unripe by the village boys. Parties of children and young people periodically [857]
go to pick wild berries when they are in season. These are mostly eaten on the spot. When wild figs are ripe children collect and eat them. Another item of food eagerly sought by everyone is the *chikur*—tender tamarind leaves. These leaves are curried, as well as pickled and preserved. Honey is collected by some men of lower castes and inferior social status, whenever they can spot a comb. Medicinal herbs, roots, tubers and barks are collected according to need.

Utilization of forest resources is not open to everyone now. From 314
the surrounding scrub jungle villagers can collect only a limited 185
quantity of fuel, as this—as well as getting timber—is regulated by the Forest Department of the government, and permits can be obtained only by making scheduled payments.

Different kinds of coloured earth used in washing walls and 134
decorating the interiors of homes, as well as the ordinary requirements 342
for the construction of houses, can be freely collected by the people. The Vaddars can break and shape stones without having to pay for them.

6. NON-AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS

In an effort to explain the broad outlines of the economic 437
organization of the community, the traditional occupations and functions of the different castes have already been described. With reference to the inter-relations between the agriculturists

578 the general tone of life in the community. Inter-group tension between Hindus and Muslims, engendered partly by political controversies in the Hyderabad State, threatened disharmony and possible breach of peace in the village in the period preceding and following the intervention of the Government of India. The recognition of the *fait accompli* in the State by the Muslims and the change in their approach and attitude towards the Hindus soon
666 established cordial relations between the two communities. At
578 the time of our investigations the Brahmin/non-Brahmin controversy, which was governing the political alignments of people within the State to a considerable extent, had its echoes in Shamirpet also. In the Telangana area, in general, it was taking the shape of an open conflict of interest between Brahmins and Reddis. In Shamirpet the individual relations between the Brahmin household and the Reddi residents of the community were very cordial; but in the discussion of general political and social questions there was a persistent anti-Brahmin feeling. Casteism was a force of no mean significance in the first general elections under the Republican Constitution, and manifested itself in such slogans as 'Reddis must solidly stand together', 'Irrespective of party considerations Reddis must vote for a Reddi candidate', or 'Non-Brahmins must unite to strike a blow to Brahmin domination'. As the interaction between the different castes in the wider political field is still in its initial stages, the pattern of group alignments has not emerged
578 very clearly. A third factor may also be mentioned here. Under
564 the influence of the social and political propaganda of the Sched-
185 uled Caste Federation, the untouchable castes have started voicing their grievances and protests against their position in the caste hierarchy. So far these protests have been mild and verbal only. Perceiving the economic advantages of the traditional system, the untouchables have not yet seriously challenged the assumptions that underlie the structure of the community. However, the abolition of untouchability by law, the granting of equal shares to them in all public utility services, and protests against the traditional system by the more vocal and assertive untouchables have aroused some tension with regard to them in the higher castes. 'Times are changing. The untouchables were admitted to schools first, then they started travelling with us in the same railway trains and buses; and now they want to draw water from our wells and eat with us in public eating-houses. The

government is indulging them; and for vote-getting the political 578
parties are spoiling them. If things go on like this, in the future 564
these low castes will want to marry our daughters and sisters,' 185
remarked a Reddi agriculturist. Those standing nearby nodded
their assent. The above remark is illustrative of the general attitude of 'responsible' persons in the higher castes.

EDUCATED VERSUS UNEDUCATED

Adverse comments are frequently heard from the educated 871
and uneducated people against each other. The uneducated 578
especially have some stereotypes regarding the educated; and the
latter often express derogatory opinions about the illiterate members of the community.

Remarks echoing the following opinions and sentiments are
commonly heard from the uneducated people: 'What use is education to us? After four years at the school all that our children learn
is to hold a pen in their hands. What we really want them to learn
is the holding of the plough firmly.' 'By learning to read a couple
of books at the school the youngsters begin to think that they have
in their skulls all the knowledge and learning in the world. They
scoff at their parents, belittle the experience of the elders, and seem
to think no end of themselves. Realities of life soon teach them a
lesson. Sooner or later they repent and fall at the feet of the elders.'
'Everyone says, "Send your children to school; uneducated people
are like animals; education makes them human beings." But what
do we get out of education? Boys learn to read and write, but they
forget the traditional ways. They do not want to cultivate the
family land, and are ashamed of their traditional profession. They
all want jobs in the city. If things go on like this what will be the
future of the community?' 'The educated people excel each
other in tall talk and boasting. They will drink, gamble and intrigue. There is nothing else that they can do.' 'What service do the
educated people render to the community? They instigate simple
illiterate people to quarrel, and later exploit the situation to their
own advantage.' 'We village people are simple. Education makes us 829
crooked.' In substance the average attitude boils down to this: education shakes a person's belief in the traditional ways and creates
in turn new desires and ambitions; these factors operating simultaneously make the educated persons misfits in the community.

On the other hand, the educated people think: 'The illiterate

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186 ETHNOCENTRISM--*exaltation of the ingroup* (e.g., consciousness of kind, local pride, patriotism, class consciousness, old school tie); unfavorable judgments of other groups (e.g., race prejudice, religious intolerance, national antipathies); overt manifestations (e.g., snobbishness, discrimination, ethical dualism, nationalism); symbolic representation (e.g., flags, anthems, emblems, national heroes); channeling of hostilities (e.g., sports rivalry, ethnic scapegoats); etc. See also:

Sports and games	52
Prejudice and discrimination toward ethnic and other stratified groups	56
Ingroup antagonisms	578
Behavior toward nonrelatives, strangers, and aliens	609
Moiety rivalries	616
Development of nationalism	619
Citizenship	641
International relations	648
Political parties	665
Nationalistic and nativistic movements	668
Military morale	703
Religious persecution	798
Ideas about race	829

571 come forward very readily to help those who need it. It is common
157 to suspect others' motives; and not unusual to be always on the alert to read hidden meanings into the seemingly innocent utterances of others. Analysis of their life-histories shows that the people are not given to introspection. They are always on the defensive; but their inter-personal relations are not characterized by detachment. In their thoughts, likes and dislikes they are quite open, and ~~all persons~~ having even casual contacts have a fair acquaintance with one anothers' ideas and attitudes

827 It is not uncommon for people to analyse and describe the
● [186] personality-traits of other inhabitants of the village as well as of
577 outsiders coming into the settlement. Positive qualities, having obvious approval, find expression in such epithets as: 'good person', 'hard-working', 'honest', 'respectable', 'well-behaved', 'intelligent', 'generous' or 'large-hearted' and 'faithful'. Epithets describing negative traits which do not meet with social approval are many and varied, and among others include: 'bad person', 'lazy', 'dishonest', 'shameless', 'mannerless', 'foolish', 'miserly', 'small-hearted', 'unfaithful', 'good-for-nothing', 'liar', 'all talk but
[521] no deeds', 'ill-tempered', etc. Analysis of such traits is firmly established in the culture-pattern, and occupies an important place in the conversation of the people when they meet in small groups.
[183] Although conformity to social norms is idealized and emphasized, when there is a breach of traditional ways the person responsible likes to confess it in confidence to someone else. Long conversations and the mutual sharing of secrets are quite frequent. However, when friendships break up the sanctity of earlier secrets is not protected by any code of honour. Within limits originality and innovation are admired; but excess and ostentation soon lead to social censure and ridicule.

829 Subjects coming under the critical eye of society are: (i)
626 breaches of traditional norms, (ii) display and exhibitionism, (iii)
577 sexuality, (iv) efforts to rise in the power hierarchy, (v) conspicuous success, and (vi) originality and 'too many new ideas'. Carrying tales and 'whispering about the doings in others' houses' go on in the community on a wide scale. It is criticized by the aggrieved persons and their sympathizers, but no one regards it as inherently bad. 'Incidents' or breaches of established norms are discussed in small conversational groups at first, and the more important ones among them gradually filter through and reach the respon-

577 unmistakable appreciation. Cowardice and treachery are condemned, but people still indulge in malicious gossip and back-
152 biting. Mutual suspicion characterizes the general nature of interpersonal relations. Two families on the road to prosperity are likely to be jealous of each other; but adversity almost never fails to bring them nearer and closer. Exercising little control over their emotions, people get excited very quickly; anger and friendship are both aroused in them with equal ease.

571 A study of inter-group relations will give us a better idea of the nature and quality of the attitudes that largely govern interpersonal relations in the community. For this we shall first examine the inter-caste attitudes embodied in stereotypes, and later analyse similar attitudes and opinions covering two sets of rival groups—educated and uneducated, and those with urban contacts and those without them.

564 INTER-CASTE ATTITUDES: SOME STEREOTYPES

•186 Inter-caste attitudes find expression in several stereotypes which
[522] are a part of the thought patterns of the people, and find expression both in jest and banter as well as in quarrels and outbursts of anger. Among others, the following stereotypes and related anecdotes were noted in Shamirpet.

The Brahmin is 'pious from outside, but not so at heart'. He is 'tricky and calculating'. 'He instigates people, but always keeps himself in the background.'

The Komti is 'a born coward, but a shrewd business man'. 'When he says anything on oath, take it that he is telling a deliberate falsehood.' 'He spares no ingenuity to save even a counterfeit coin.' 'Gods do not penalize a Komti for telling lies, he is born to do that.' The anecdotes concerning the miserliness of the Komtis are indeed many and varied. 'If a fly falls in butter-milk, rich people will throw the butter-milk away, the poor will throw away the fly and drink the butter-milk. But the Komti squeezes out the butter-milk before throwing the fly away.' 'If a relation comes to the house of a Komti and the time of the evening meal approaches, he will think, "If this guest goes home, I shall be able to save one meal." The guest on the other hand thinks, "If I stay here a little while more, one meal will be saved at home." And a battle of wits goes on to save just one meal.' The stories of their cowardice are also many. 'A Komti is a warrior in words, but a rat in deeds.' 'If you strike him once he will say, "Strike me a second time and I will see." If you strike him a second time, he will say, "Strike me a third time and I shall show you what it means to beat me." You go on beating him, and all that he will do is to repeat his threats without having the courage to hit back even once.'

Of the Kapu, or agricultural castes, general public opinion seems to be good. 'They are a hard-working people, faithfully attached to the soil.' 'The Kapus are the *annadata*, literally producers of agricultural wealth. If they do not cultivate the land and produce grain, what shall we eat?' Social comment is generally unfavourable on the rich Reddi landlords who make excessive demands on the tenants.

The Kummari's place in common village talk is not very enviable. 'Living in the world of his earthen pots, he knows little of the world outside.' 'Because he works continuously at the wheel, no strength is left in his loins. No wonder, he cannot satisfy his wife.'

More than anyone else, the Golla is the butt of many cruel jokes. He is criticized for his simplicity, for his dirtiness and for his awkward gestures and rustic manner of speech. His shocking cowardice too is often commented upon. 'He tends sheep. He is no better than one of his flock.' 'The Golla is a model of cleanliness. Look at his body, it is covered with lice all over.' 'See, how a Golla talks! If you hear him from a distance you will think that he is quarrelling with someone; but no, he is discussing with his wife what to cook for the evening meal.' In animated discussion the Gollas are certainly given to much gesticulation. 'Others also gesticulate but the mannerisms of the Gollas are remarkably different.' 'In sheer cowardice only a Sale will excel him.' 'Bluff him, threaten him and a Golla will readily agree to what you say. He is too thick-headed to understand you otherwise.' 'You can never know what a Golla will do. Give him a sweet-smelling flower and he will put it in his anus.'

In the village community the Sale caste symbolizes cowardice. If anyone is afraid of going out in the dark or runs away from a fight, people remark, 'Are you the son of a Sale? That alone can explain your remarkable bravery.' This is one of the most widely prevalent and generally accepted stereotypes. Many a Sale would

186 564 also accept it, and using different words would say, 'We mind our work and do not get mixed up in local affairs. What use is it fighting like animals?' Others generally say, 'If you strike a Komti with a stick, he will hit you back with his tongue. He has at least a store of filthy abuse which he uses as a weapon of defence. But the Sale is too timid to do even this. All that he can do is to run into his house and hide himself.'

The Gaondla, 'when he is poor, carries empty pots of palm-juice from every house; but when he amasses wealth, his head turns. Then he learns to speak the language of the urban people.'

The Sakali is 'after all a washerman. One who washes the dirty clothes of the rest of the community cannot himself remain clean.' Women belonging to this caste have a reputation for their great capacity for drinking. 'They do not require much persuasion for granting sexual favours to people outside the caste; and the devils —Sakali women—are such adepts in sexual technique that anyone falling into their clutches once remains their slave for ever.'

There are several witty stories about the status of the Mangali (barber). 'No doubt his general status is low, but he always has the advantage of the company of rich and influential men. Do you not sit with him while he is cutting your hair and giving you a shave? Even rich agriculturists have to allow him to sit near them as if he were their equal in status.' 'It is true that his status is not very high. But who does not bow to him? While cutting a king's hair the barber orders "Bend a little towards me", and the king unquestioningly obeys him. Who else can catch hold of your hair, pull your ears or slap you on the cheek? Ask a barber to cut your hair and shave you, and you will have the answer.' 'The agriculturists always have to worry about their crops—in some years they grow well, in others they do not. But there is no uncertainty about the crops harvested by a barber—the beards of his clients grow with an unfailing regularity.'

[781] The castes in the Panch Bramha group are not regarded as particularly auspicious. 'While starting on a journey if you happen to see a person belonging to one of these groups, you should take it as a sign of ill-luck. It indicates a possible failure of your mission.'

'The Mala and the Madiga will be rude if you are gentle with them, and will be gentle if you are rude to them.' 'Kick him first

Hindus
Muslims

and then ask him to do a thing, a Madiga will never refuse. Ask 186 him to do something in soft words and he will have a thousand 564 excuses ready.'

[578] Although Shamirpet has maintained, even in the worst years of communal tension, a fairly honourable record of communal harmony [178] and the relations between the Hindu and the Muslim sections of the village population have been cordial in every sense, the two communities have some generalized notions about the inherent qualities and attributes of each other. The Hindus will say, 'The untouchables are impure, but Muslims are poisonous. If you touch a Madiga you may have to sever only the finger with which you touched him, but if you touch a Muslim you will have to cut off the arm itself.' 'The Muslims are good only in two things —they eat and copulate like beasts. Who else except a Muslim would ever think of going to bed with his uncle's daughter, who is next only to his real sister.' The Muslims are regarded as showy and ostentatious. 'A Muslim will eat stale rice inside his house, but when coming out he will apply some clarified butter to his lips. Then he will belch loudly and say, "How much fried rice and meat have I eaten to-day".' [772] With regard to conversion to Islam the Hindus often say, 'A Hindu untouchable of yesterday becomes a Muslim to-day; and to-morrow he will start proclaiming that his forefathers lived in Arabia!' The Muslims, having for generations prided themselves as the ruling race of Hyderabad, tend to look down upon the Hindus, and make fun of their numerous gods and superstitious beliefs. On the whole the Muslims regard the other community as 'cowardly and mean'. But the recent changes in the political fortunes of the State, resulting in the end of Muslim rule, have had a sobering effect on the Muslims, and now they do not take the offensive against their Hindu neighbours, as some of them very commonly did in the period preceding the Police Action of 1948.

578 I have pointed out earlier that most of these stereotypes find expression in jest and banter, and occasionally in outbursts of anger. While each caste seeks to proclaim and prove its own superiority in some respect it invariably holds some generalized notions, such as those described above, about the inherent qualities of the other castes. It is believed that there can be individual exceptions to the rule, but regarding the castes themselves these stereotypes are valid. However, very few of these notions influence

829 cultural activities are directed, or upon which high value is placed.'[1]

What is the universe according to the average way of thinking in this village community? Notwithstanding the historical traditions of the Andhra culture-area to which this village belongs, and the nearness of the settlement to the large cities of Hyderabad and Secundrabad the universe in people's thoughts remains extremely limited both in time and space. Some educated persons, especially the Brahmin and the Reddis, have vague ideas about the cultural traditions of Andhra and of the glorious past of India, but to the great bulk of the people caste-mythology is their only history. Traditional social institutions and life-ways are idealized: they originated long, long ago when men first appeared on the earth and the salvation of people lies in their faithful observance of these divinely ordained ways. It is customary to criticize the change of times in so far as the present is concerned; but the idealized past does not have much depth—at the most it goes to the great-grandfather's generation and above that to legendary heroes of caste-mythology. The Muslims have a fair acquaintance with the history of the origin of their religion, but not of their own connections with it. While people know about the existence of several different cultures, languages and religions in India, and also something about the lands beyond the seas, have been to places of pilgrimage and a few have even seen some of the larger cities of the land; their mental horizon is definitely regional. The village, their own caste, villages in the neighbourhood and some of the developments in the nearby capital city—generally only those affecting the rural areas—constitute their effective universe. [186] The focus is local and regional, confined to family, kin, caste and some neighbouring villages. National consciousness is rather vague, and it was a surprise to us that in a village so near a large city there were many people who did not know the names of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru and had only the haziest of ideas regarding the struggles of the Indian National Congress against British rule. Recent political changes in Hyderabad and activities of the different political parties have sought to widen this universe, but so far the change has been extremely limited. Newspapers, increased political activity, and compulsory educa-

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[1] Sol Tax, ed., *The Heritage of Conquest*, "Ethos and Cultural Aspects of Personality" by Gillin, p. 195.

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191 **SPEECH**--notions about language; standards of correctness; individual speech idiosyncrasies; ideas about speech defects (e.g., stuttering); speech aids (e.g., megaphone); bilingualism; etc. See also:

Telephony	206	Oratory	537
Radio	207	Vituperation	578
Writing	212	Deafmutism	732
Sound recording	216	Cursing	789
Conversation	521	Acquisition of speech	858
Vocal music	533		

THE SETTING

2. THE PEOPLE

According to the census of 1951, the total population of Shamir- 161
pet, which included the two neighbouring hamlets of Babuguda 162
and Upparpalli, was 2,494, with a total of 508 houses. The following table shows the distribution of the population according to religion:

1. Hindus.	A. Clean castes	1,434
	B. Untouchables or Scheduled castes	680
2. Muslims		340

The predominant language in Shamirpet is Telugu, the main 197
language of Telangana and Andhra-desa. It is known as 'the 162
Italian of the East' and is praised for its sonorous and lyrical 191
qualities and possesses a vast literature, both classical and modern. However, the dialect of Telugu, which is spoken in Shamirpet, and generally in the countryside, is criticized by the more sophisticated Andhras for its harshness and rustic accent. In the census of 1951, 2,008 persons in this village were recorded as speaking Telugu, while 340 persons were recorded as speaking Urdu, which was until 1948 the official language of Hyderabad administration. These figures are, however, misleading, and make reference only to the mother-tongue. In practice most men in the village are bi-lingual; those whose mother-tongue is Telugu have at least a smattering of Urdu, and of the 340 Urdu speakers at least half possess a working knowledge of Telugu. As a generalization it may be stated that knowledge of the mother-tongue alone is confined only to women, although several women among both the Hindus and the Muslims are also bi-lingual.

Thus the two major divisions in the population of the village may be distinguished on the grounds of religion and language. Culturally also the Hindus and Muslims stand in marked contrast to each other.

The Hindus of Shamirpet can be classed under three broad 463
divisions: 564

1. Cultivators.
2. Occupational castes, with traditional crafts and professions regarded as clean and respectable.
3. Depressed classes, subsisting by humble and lowly callings.

In the first group we can place the following castes: the Reddi, the Muttarasi, and their subdivisions. These groups are often

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871 *Education.*—A day school has recently been started with 40 on
the roll, 25 average attendance. Most of the pupils come from other
[212] villages. Three adults are able to read the vernacular. Eight can
write their signatures. The karnam alone can read and write well.
About five or six have learned to read and write but have lost the
●[191] ability latterly. No one knows English.

214 There are about 50 or 60 books, all in Telugu. Of these about seven or eight relate to the Hindu Law and to village administration. The rest relate to the Puranas.

Village administration.—There is no panchayat.

624 There is a monigar and a karnam and two talaiyaris. The karnam keeps the accounts of the village, and the monigar is the village magistrate and collects the kist. The talaiyaris are the servants attached to the village. There is no sanitary administration.

625 The nearest Police station is situated at a distance of 12 miles in Sodam, which station was formerly at Kandur.

In recent years there has been practically no crime. About five years ago there was a murder, never detected.

For the present there is only one case belonging to this village
691 pending judgment at the Sessions Court, Chittoor. This is about a
land dispute.

Ordinarily disputes are settled here in the presence of the monigar, karnam, and some leading men of the village.

178 *History and prospects.*—There has been economic deterioration due to the scarcity of rains and the consequent failure of crops. The ryots have been impoverished and consequently obliged to get into the clutches of creditors.

For the present there does not seem to be scope for economic improvement. The tanks are all getting silted up. The bunds are getting decreased in height. Recently one bund burst. The persons concerned are very poor to bear the cost of repairs. But if the repairs are executed then there might be some improvement and the area of irrigated lands might be extended.

437 More wells could be sunk with advantage. They are not sunk owing to lack of funds with the ryots. People sell land owing to the fact that by doing so only they can support their families and themselves. Land is bought by well-to-do persons as a sort of investment and also because it is sometimes had at a price lower than its right worth.

In recent years there has been no emigration at all. But about
167 ten years ago two persons of Yekili caste emigrated to Natal. They
have not since returned. Their emigration was due to their failure
to get a living here.

Such movements have generally no visible effect on the life of the village.

Another interesting point is that smelting ovens are seen all
325 round the village in a state of ruin. It seems that formerly (about
thirty or forty years ago) iron ore found all round the village was
smelted here locally, and that this was sufficient for the local
demand. But now no such practice exists. However iron is still
found in the shape of filings in large or small quantities round
about. Moreover this iron is held to be of good quality. More
detailed information can be had from the North Arcot District
Manual, wherein it is mentioned.

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India

Telugu AW17

171 rooms. The school buildings have been erected at the cost of the villagers. Efforts are being made to provide more accommodation. The school trains pupils for the Kanarese Lower Secondary Examination and instruction is given in Kanarese. Now efforts are being made to open classes in English and also to open a school exclusively for girls. There are about fifty boys in attendance and about fifty girls. School is held from 6-30 to 10-30 in the morning and from 2 to 6 in the evening. No time is allowed for play at all. Instruction is in Kanarese, although the language the people speak is Telugu.

[191] The number of persons who know how to read the vernacular is 131; fifteen or sixteen can read and write English.

[215] There are about thirty or forty books almost all in Sanskrit and Kanarese.

A night school has recently been opened. It has twenty on the rolls, mostly adults. Average attendance five.

623 *Village administration.*—There is a panchayat composed of five members. The main work of the panchayat lies in the field of village improvement in the different branches of education, sanitation, etc.

624 There is a patel and a shanbhog. The shanbhog's duty lies in keeping the village accounts. The patel is concerned with the general oversight of the village and the collection of revenue. There are four servants, two for police purposes and the two others concerned in the collection of revenue.

364 *Sanitary administration.*—The panchayat is concerned with the sanitary administration of the village. The panchayat holds meetings when occasion arises and takes steps to improve the sanitation of the village. Every Monday each family supplies half a day's labour, compoundable by a money payment of an anna. This does what is needful for the sanitation of the village. The panchayat exercises a general oversight in these matters. The Sanitary Inspector and the District Health and Sanitary Officer inspect the village often.

625 There is a police sub-station with a daffadar and five police constables. During nights, three other men watch the village; their services are purely voluntary and unpaid.

624 The higher authorities are the Amildar, Assistant Commissioner, and the Deputy Commissioner. The Amildar is the only official with whom there is contact at all often. The others visit the village about once or twice in a year. There is a resident shaikdar or revenue inspector.

674 *Crime.*—There have been practically no crimes punishable with capital punishment hitherto. Whatever crime there has been consists only of burglaries and minor thefts. These too are rare. For the past six years there has been only one burglary (in 1916); valuables were lost to the value of Rs. 150.

691 No villagers are engaged in litigation. Almost all civil disputes are decided in the village itself by the panchayat.

178 *History and prospects.*—There has been economic deterioration due to the scarcity of rains and the consequent failure of crops.
426 The ryots have been obliged to borrow and this is very well evidenced by the amount of rural indebtedness. No remission is

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India

Telugu AW17

very close to the human inmates. Rubbish and cow-dung are 511 stored up in front of the houses, while in rainy seasons the whole 356 becomes a stagnant pool of water, rubbish and cow-dung.

The houses of the Pariahs are filled with an awful smell of skins, bones and putrid flesh. The insufficiency of food that they suffer from tempts them to fill their bellies with toddy and other stimulants that ultimately ruin their health.

The Sudras are perfectly temperate and simple in habits and 582 food. The "twice-born" castes are bound to marry their girls before twelve. The lower castes are not bound to do so. But the Sudras and lower castes actually marry their girls at a very early age, both to satisfy the anxiety of elders and for fear they may not have the money afterwards. I know a case in which a girl two months old was married to a boy of two years, the boy dying a year later of cholera. They maintain strict widowhood like the Brahmans. There is no purdah.

The villagers bathe and wash clothes and also wash their 515 cattle in the same tank as that used for drinking.

Education.—There is one school; its accommodation and equip- 871 ment being a rented house, an atlas, a globe, text books, some pictures of common objects, civics primers, dumb-bells, a black board, a desk, benches for boys to sit upon.

Elementary education is given up to the fourth standard, in the vernacular, in history, arithmetic, geography, civics, etc. This education is most unpractical and incomplete and ill-suited to the villagers, who do not proceed to college classes. It does not enable them to read good books in Telugu or to learn even the elementary principles of sanitation. They are never made to feel that they are citizens of a world, or an empire, or a province, outside the narrow bounds of their village.

Attendance—	Boys.	Girls.
1913	19	4
1914	9	3
1915	45	12
1916	54	8
1917	48	6

About 30 per cent of the adults can read the vernacular; two persons can read and talk English. There is a noted musician in [191] the village but no other pandit. Not less than 25 or 30 per cent of those who have passed through the school have lost their capacity to write or cipher after leaving. One boy has proceeded to the Mechanical Engineering course in the Victoria Technical Institute, Bombay; another to the Arts course in the Madras University.

There are 90 to 100 books, of which 70 are owned by Brahmans, 538 made up of novels, dramas, puranas, the Mahabharata and stories. Among the Sudras, a development of literary taste, though in a very small degree, is perceptible. There are many devotional songs and lives of Telugu saints, while stories of the epics rendered into songs and recited by "Bhagavathars" are very frequent. The latest innovation is the introduction of dramas. Novels are still a rarity, as well as histories. No newspaper comes to the village.

The village has no temple except that of the village goddess. 796 Her festival is celebrated with much slaughter of cattle and goats given by their owners whenever there is an outbreak of cholera or small-pox; or, failing these, once in four or five years. The cost is

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192 VOCABULARY--paucity or richness of vocabulary; range of vocabulary in ordinary use; receptivity to loan words; elaboration of vocabulary in particular directions; special vocabularies (e.g., sacred words, slang, legal language, technical words, occupational jargon); words and phrases with strong emotional connotations; etc. See also:

Place names	103
Glossaries of native words frequently used in descriptive accounts	104
Personal names	551
Kinship terms	601
Numerals	802
Native terms for plants and animals	824, 825

1: O'Malley G-3 (no date) 1941 AW1 India AW1
TELUGU AW17
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Two more important changes must be briefly mentioned. One is the introduction of the spoken dialect, as opposed to the literary dialect, into the writings of the day. This movement was started as a result of western influence by Rao Sahib G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu, and it is gaining ground as it gathers adherents from the younger generation. There are many scholars, however, who resist the adoption of this dialect as a literary medium on the ground that it is a defilement of their pure language. The other is the change which the vocabulary has undergone as the result of the infusion of English, a change similar to that which it underwent when it first came into contact with Sanskrit. That process still continues; to-day any Sanskrit word, simple or compounded with another, can be used in a standard work in addition to the words already adopted from Sanskrit which have become domiciled. At present the Telugu language is almost gravitating to a similar position in relation to English, because, in addition to the English words already incorporated in it with the necessary phonetic changes, English verbs and nouns are freely used in the daily speech of the educated and higher classes; as has often been pointed out, the modern graduate cannot speak Telugu for a few minutes without using some English expression or other. Any acceleration of this change will tend to the transformation of the language, which will become anglicized in the same way that it has been Sanskritized, but an effective check is likely to be afforded by the spread of the spirit of nationalism.

VI. URDU

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Urdu is the most commonly used language in India. It is spoken in the greater part of the north and in some parts of the south, including the great Indian State of Hyderabad, Deccan. In other parts of the country it is more or less understood, particularly in large towns. Its literature has thus a wide appeal and its influence is spreading with the growth of literary activity in various branches of knowledge. Though as a literature Urdu is comparatively new, yet as a language it is fairly old. There is an impression abroad that the language was born in the camp of Shah Jahan at Delhi, but this is not correct, though it is not unlikely that the camp was the origin of its name.[1] There are many theories[2] as to the origin of the language. Whatever view may be finally adopted, I think I can safely associate myself with the opinion expressed on this

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197 **LINGUISTIC IDENTIFICATION**--dominant language or languages; affiliation with other languages; position within a linguistic stock or family; dialectic differentiation; processes of linguistic change (e.g., drift); etc. See also:

Racial affiliations . . . . 144 Cultural affiliations 171

M M M
Te Te Te
Ta Ta Ta
K K K
197, 113, 162
●

Marathi AW12
●Telugu AW17
Tamil AW16
Kanada AW10

[For distribution of languages, see map, p. 645, category 116, in 6: Spate, AW1 India.]

●

113, 197, 564, 582, 614

[For information pertaining to language regions, kinship terminology and kin relationships, see 5: Karve AW1 India, category 116, pp. 230-1.]

2. THE PEOPLE

According to the census of 1951, the total population of Shamirpet, which included the two neighbouring hamlets of Babuguda and Upparpalli, was 2,494, with a total of 508 houses. The following table shows the distribution of the population according to religion: 161 162

1. Hindus.	A. Clean castes	1,434
	B. Untouchables or Scheduled castes	680
2. Muslims		340

The predominant language in Shamirpet is Telugu, the main language of Telangana and Andhra-desa. It is known as 'the Italian of the East' and is praised for its sonorous and lyrical qualities and possesses a vast literature, both classical and modern. However, the dialect of Telugu, which is spoken in Shamirpet, and generally in the countryside, is criticized by the more sophisticated Andhras for its harshness and rustic accent. In the census of 1951, 2,008 persons in this village were recorded as speaking Telugu, while 340 persons were recorded as speaking Urdu, which was until 1948 the official language of Hyderabad administration. These figures are, however, misleading, and make reference only to the mother-tongue. In practice most men in the village are bi-lingual; those whose mother-tongue is Telugu have at least a smattering of Urdu, and of the 340 Urdu speakers at least half possess a working knowledge of Telugu. As a generalization it may be stated that knowledge of the mother-tongue alone is confined only to women, although several women among both the Hindus and the Muslims are also bi-lingual. 177 162 191

Thus the two major divisions in the population of the village may be distinguished on the grounds of religion and language. Culturally also the Hindus and Muslims stand in marked contrast to each other.

The Hindus of Shamirpet can be classed under three broad divisions: 463 564

1. Cultivators.
2. Occupational castes, with traditional crafts and professions regarded as clean and respectable.
3. Depressed classes, subsisting by humble and lowly callings.

In the first group we can place the following castes: the Reddi, the Muttarasi, and their subdivisions. These groups are often

resent this disability, but nevertheless they recognize the value of 564
realizing their own limitations and continue to conform to the 783
traditional norms of behaviour.

The people of Telangana and Andhra-desa belong to the great [197]
family of Dravidian-speaking people who developed a great
civilization in the south and have materially contributed to the 144
final make-up of Indian civilization as we know it to-day. Racially
they represent a mixture of several elements. In physical types
also the people of Shamirpet show great variation. Most of the
Muslim inhabitants of Shamirpet are the descendants of local
converts and do not therefore greatly differ in physical characteristics
from the local Hindu inhabitants, but the few immigrants
whose arrival dates from recent times present a marked contrast
with their more delicate features and fairer skin colour.

In point of dress and ornament the Hindus and Muslims differ 291
widely. Muslim men and boys wear loose trousers of thin white
cloth called *pyjama*, and a vest or a shirt. Out of doors they put on
the more conventional long coat buttoned up to the neck known as
sherwani. They invariably wear a red fez cap or a black cap made
of sheepskin. Muslim girls wear a tight *pyjama* and a long, loose
tunic which often touches the knees. Round the shoulders and
thrown round the back they wear a thin white or coloured scarf
known as *dupatta* or *odhni*. On festive occasions these clothes are
very colourful. Married Muslim women usually wear a blouse or
bodice, and a *sari*—a wide piece of cloth, some five or six yards
long, which is tied round the waist to form a skirt that nearly
touches the ankles. It is tied in such a way that one end of the cloth
is taken over the chest to one shoulder and then passed behind
the neck to the other shoulder. Married Muslim women are [562]
obliged by the rules of their religion to observe *purdah*, i.e. veil
themselves in the presence of all but their closest relations. Whenever
they leave their houses they wear this veil known as *burkha*, a
garment which falls from the crown of the head to the ground.
The Hindu mode of dress is quite different, and varies greatly
according to the financial status of the different families. Among
the poorer classes, infants remain naked, but occasionally a few
rags are tied round their waists; and in childhood they go about
in these tattered rags. Boys wear a vest or shirt and a *dhoti*. Girls
wear a skirt (*lahanga*) and a blouse. Among the poorer classes
these clothes are almost always dirty, for within a few days of their

1: O'Malley G-3 (no date) 1941 AWI India

TAMIL AW16
TELUGU AW17

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with English. Father Beschi's epic *Themba Ani* was the earliest successful attempt to import biblical themes and incidents into Tamil poetry. In his *Thiru Kavalur Kalambakam*, *Adaikala Malai*, *Annai Azhungal Andhadhi*, and *Kitheri Amman Ammanai* he poured new wine into old bottles. While scrupulously, and even excessively, conforming to the orthodox technique, he worked freely on western models and effected innovations both in design and execution, in materials and make-up, which, if daring, added a new grandeur in numbers and a new vigour in ideology.

To come to later writers, Mr. Krishna Pillai's epic *Rakshanya Yatrikam* is a poetic adaptation of *The Pilgrim's Progress*; Mr. V. G. S. Sastri's monostiches, known as *Thani Pasura Thokai*, which have been translated into English by Dr. Pope, are fine imitations of Shakespeare's Sonnets; Munsif Vedanayagam Pillai's *Penmathi Malai* and *Sarva Samaya Kirthanais* are lyrical symphonies on modern themes of current interest. The extempore melodies of the later nationalist poet Bharati, entitled *Swadesa-Githams* (National Songs), touch high levels of perfervid patriotic poesy. He is a product of the new dynamic nationalism which tales of Mazzini's noble passion and Garibaldi's prowess have inspired in young India. His 'soul-stirring songs', as they have been called by a staid Malayali High Court judge, are expressions of the new-born emotions and passion for freedom inspired by western ideas and advanced modern ideals; and they have helped to translate patriotism from the sphere of passion into that of a religion.

To sum up our review, the effects of western influences on modern Tamil culture have been primarily to enlarge the domain of prose and to add extensive and entirely new communes to the republic of Tamil letters, in fiction, drama, and journalism in particular. Even the anaemic languor of later poetry has been dissipated by infusions of healthy young blood, and Tamil poesy has been revitalized by the live currents from the West, which appear to have cured it of the partial paralysis that supervened in the dark ages between the thirteenth and the seventeenth centuries.

V. TELUGU

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Telugu, which is the principal member of the Andhra group of Dravidian languages, is the mother tongue of about twenty-six million people in an area of 117,000 square miles, occupying the central portion of the east coast of South India and extending far into the interior of the country, which is comprehensively known as Andhra land. Its existence as a language can be traced back to a period as early as the first century B.C., but its first literary production, which was a translation of the Sanskrit *Mahabharata*,

197 dates as late as the eleventh century A.D. By then it had absorbed
the vocabulary, spirit, and culture of the Sanskrit language, and up
538 to the nineteenth century, through a continuous period of eight
centuries, it looked to Sanskrit as the model of literary expression.
It took more than two centuries to complete the translation of the
Mahabharata, and that great work formed the foundation for the
superstructure of later literary construction. Early Telugu
scholars were invariably acquainted with Sanskrit, and the vast
stores of its literature afforded material for study, imitation,
adaptation, and translation. Almost all the *Puranas* were trans-
lated one after another, and the habit of translation, though
discouraged, persists to this day. But one good feature about the
Telugu translations is that the genius of the poet-translator often
permeates the whole work, so that it reads as if it were an original
composition. These *Puranas* are mostly in verse form, with prose
interspersed here and there in less poetic portions. Their themes
were mostly mythological and religious, but the treatment of them
was highly poetical. Stories of selfless love, of filial devotion, of
absorbing romance, of great heroism, and of absolute renunciation
can be found in scores in these *Puranas*. Another literary type that
was evolved and perfected is called the *Prabandha*. A tale of the
love and wedding of lovers of high lineage, written mostly in verse
interspersed with prose, with a stock plot, overdrawn and ornate
descriptions, and perfunctory characterization, was the sum and
substance of the average *Prabandha*. Thus, as a rough estimate, it
can be said that the two standard types existing in Telugu litera-
ture before it began to be subject to western influence were the
Purana, or mythological long story, and the *Prabandha*, or romantic
tale of moderate range.

538 The beginning of western influence can be traced to 1800 or
even earlier; two books describing the life of Christ and his
177 teachings and explaining the doctrines of Christianity were written
in Telugu in 1750 and 1780 respectively. The introduction of
printing and the establishment of public schools teaching the
language of the land as well as English were the starting-point of
a great change in the life, manners, outlook, and culture of the
average Telugu man, and the change was reflected in literature.
In force, in variety of topics, in its relationship to the daily life of
the people, in its ready assimilation of foreign elements, in its
freedom of thought, in the abundance of its literary forms, and in
its general output, Telugu literature became altogether a new
literature. The change has been unique and all-pervading. The
modern author need no longer be bound by convention or be hard
pressed for a subject; he is not hampered by traditional literary
forms but has been emancipated. He makes new ventures in the

1: O'Malley G-3 (no date) 1941 AW1 India AW1
TELUGU AW17
PAKISTAN AT1

Te Two more important changes must be briefly mentioned. One
538 is the introduction of the spoken dialect, as opposed to the literary
177 dialect, into the writings of the day. This movement was started
as a result of western influence by Rao Sahib G. V. Ramamurti
● 197. Pantulu, and it is gaining ground as it gathers adherents from the
192 younger generation. There are many scholars, however, who resist the adoption of this dialect as a literary medium on the ground that it is a defilement of their pure language. The other is the change which the vocabulary has undergone as the result of the infusion of English, a change similar to that which it underwent when it first came into contact with Sanskrit. That process still continues; to-day any Sanskrit word, simple or compounded with another, can be used in a standard work in addition to the words already adopted from Sanskrit which have become domiciled. At present the Telugu language is almost gravitating to a similar position in relation to English, because, in addition to the English words already incorporated in it with the necessary phonetic changes, English verbs and nouns are freely used in the daily speech of the educated and higher classes; as has often been pointed out, the modern graduate cannot speak Telugu for a few minutes without using some English expression or other. Any acceleration of this change will tend to the transformation of the language, which will become anglicized in the same way that it has been Sanskritized, but an effective check is likely to be afforded by the spread of the spirit of nationalism.

VI. URDU

I Urdu is the most commonly used language in India. It is spoken
197 in the greater part of the north and in some parts of the south,
538 including the great Indian State of Hyderabad, Deccan. In other
P parts of the country it is more or less understood, particularly in
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6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

135 zone of the Orissa Hills. There are small deposits of lead (Nalgonda),
316 copper and mica (Raichur), and graphite (Warangal), while the Ceded Districts have non-ferrous metals (manganese, antimony), corundum, and barytes; but most of the minerals here are associated with the bordering ranges to the E, and in any case are almost untouched. Golconda diamonds belong to history—and legend—rather than to modern economy. The forest resources around the Godavari are not very accessible, though it would seem that more use might be made of the river itself as an outlet, and power might be available from the rapids where it crosses the En Hills.

161 Population densities are not high—**170–200** in the Ceded Dts, **160–220** in
361 Hyderabad. Villages are essentially tied to waterpoints, often in association with tanks, and generally built of mud or stone set in mud, with thatched roofs.[39]

369 Apart from Hyderabad City, towns are few and small. Warangal (**133,130**) is the largest, and of merely local importance; Bellary (56,148) is an im-
471 portant railway town and has small sugar and vanaspati (vegetable ghee) mills. Otherwise, except for cotton ginning and so on, industrial develop-
[464] ment is negligible: in 1949 Hyderabad had only 60,000 factory workers (probably mostly in the capital), 26,000 miners, 22,000 railwaymen.

Hyderabad (**1,085,722**) was in 1941 the fourth Indian city; it has since
369 been outstripped by Delhi (Old and New together). Founded in 1589 by the Muslim king of Golconda, it was the capital of the Mogul Viceroyalty of the Deccan and of the independent state which arose on the Mogul ruins;
●[197] old Golconda, an impressive hill-fortress, lies 5 miles to the W. The significance of Hyderabad is essentially administrative and cultural, as is evidenced by the high proportions of Urdu and Tamil speakers; the former represent the semi-feudal class dominant in the state until 1948, the latter the clerkly bureaucracy. The city is close-packed, mostly unplanned, with palaces perhaps more remarkable for size than beauty, surrounded by
361 vast tanks. Most notable of modern buildings is perhaps the fine Osmania University. Six miles to the N is the enormous cantonment of Secunderabad, designed to afford protection to Our Faithful Ally the Nizam, and perhaps not less to ensure his continued faithfulness—a precaution not unwarranted in the stirring and in all senses intriguing days when the rising British power was at grips with the Marathas and the Mysore of Haidar Ali and Tipu, and when French influence was not altogether dead in the Deccan.

Telangana: Aspect and Prospect

[161] Hyderabad, with its 82,313 sq mls and **18,655,108** people, its own inter-
631 nal posts (with yellow pillar-boxes), its integration of road services with the Nizam's State Railway, and with a reasonably good administration, was a

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[39] W. Burns (ed.), *Sons of the Soil* (1941), 5.

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India
Telugu AW17

state of weight not inferior to that of many a sovereign member of UNO. 631
But large parts of it were still under practically feudal *jagirs*, and the tension [578]
between a Muslim aristocracy and bureaucracy, and the Maratha/Telugu peasantry, was a fundamental weakness. As the only notable survivor of the Muslim Mogul succession-states, it was an Islamic cultural and political outlier fatally isolated from the Islamic bases in the NW and NE. These things were obvious to the casual traveller: as one passes from the lava mesas of Maharashtra the cultural landscape changes as much as the physical. At Gulbarga, on the lava edge, the tombs of the Muslim Bahmani Sultans dominate the gently rolling country, their domes rising like giant bubbles over the flat skyline; on the station platforms the local petty bourgeoisie and bureaucracy, gathered to meet the train and always easily recognisable, no longer wore the dhoti or completely anglicised office clothes, but were clad in the long tight-fitting Muslim *sherwani* coat. But the Muslim hold was thin, and they were a minority of 12·8%. Geographically the weakness of the state was of course its separation from the sea—doubtless not accidental on the EIC's part; hence its interest in Masulipatam on the Godavari delta, linked by rail and only 60 miles from Hyderabad territory by the easy gap where the Gondwana trough breaks the En Hills.

To-day it seems possible that all the Telugu country may be united into an Andhra state, despite the great gap in economic development, and perhaps in economic interests, between the harsh and arid plateau and the paddy-plain of the Madras littoral. It would probably be difficult enough to weld together peoples of such divergent environment; but the major objection to Andhra Desa is not so much the thing in itself as the difficulty of stopping such particularisms from spreading. The detachment of
C Telangana from Hyderabad leaves Marathwara to be disposed of; presumably there would be a move to attach it to a Maharashtra state. This would involve in turn the creation of Karnataka for the Kanarese, and there is an important overlapping zone between the two [29], while, as we have seen, the Bombay Karnatak has important ties with Bombay. That city itself is the
natural outlet for Maharashtra and is in historically Maratha country; but [192]
commercially it is also closely allied with Gujarat, and indeed Gujarati is probably the main business language of Bombay. Clearly to such separatisms there is no end territorially; they probably raise as many problems as they solve; and from an *Indian* point of view the result of creating linguistically homogeneous states might be a grave weakening of national unity. (Cf. below, 682,692).

In any case, the development of the essentially poor land of Telangana 312
will call for great capital expenditure without, perhaps, much prospect of cash returns. The future depends largely on the progress of the great

[29] Deshpande, *op. cit.*, Fig. 20 (p. 86).

6:Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AW1 India

Telugu /
AW17

369 chintzes. The opening of the coastal railway completed the ruin of the
504 cyclone of 1864; yet it is still generally known as Bandar ('the port').
Cocanada is rather better, with many more wharves and jetties; but again
the anchorage is 5–6 miles offshore. The ports might—at large expense—
be developed as outlets for En Hyderabad, should that backward area itself
be developed; but obviously the actively prograding deltas impose severe
difficulties on any reconstruction; at Cocanada constant dredging is
necessary to keep a depth of 4–6 ft (LWOST) on the bar. In the great days
167 of the coolie traffic, before the depression and the Indo-Burmese race-riots
of the 1930s, Cocanada had an enormous migrant turnover.

(c) *Nellore*

133 The traditional Sn boundary of the Telugu country lies along the Tiru-
312 patti escarpment, overlooking the Renigunta basin; beyond is Tamilnad,
a country, almost a nation, on its own. The transition is reflected in the increasing importance of tank-irrigation, though this will be changed if the Penner is ever fully utilised. Physically also the transition is marked by patches of marine Jurassics and the coastal belt of sub-recent Cuddalore sandstones; both become more important in the Madras coastal plain (Fig. 141).

133 Most of Nellore is poor country: low peneplains of Archaean gneisses
311 and schists, stony or lateritic and largely covered with scrub. Even allowing
for the large part of the District in the Velikondas, agriculture is severely
limited. The coast is fringed by a belt of alluvium 2–14 miles wide, between
[339] low-level laterites and the blown sand of the shore. The most interesting
coastal feature is the great salt-water lagoon of Pulicat; the islands of the lagoon are used for burning lime from the great shell-banks (this is a main source of *chunam* plaster for Madras building) and salt smuggling is or was important.

312 The Penner and its associated tanks (Fig. 138) are already important for irrigation, and will be more so when the old scheme for an anicut at the Someswaram watergap through the Velikondas is carried out.

135 Away from the Cuddapah Ranges (above, pp. 678–82), the only mineral
471 wealth consists of laterite, building-stones, the coastal salt and shell-lime,
and mica from the Archaean schists: output of mica is about 11,000 tons p.a., rather under 10% of *Indian* production. Nellore (56,315) is almost entirely administrative and commercial; it has a little pottery, but other industrial development is practically absent.

631 The Circars form the nucleus of the new Andhra State which neverthe-
197 less is to be administered from distant Kurnool. This is the first experiment
in "linguistic states", and it can hardly be said that its geographical foundations are very sound or imposing (cf. 126, 675, 682).

201

201 **GESTURES AND SIGNS**--patterned expressions of emotion (e.g., affection, aggression, derision, fear, disgust); gestures of affirmation and negation; indications of size and shape; directive signs (e.g., beckoning, warning); sign languages and their use (e.g., by the deaf, in intertribal communication); etc. See also:

Recreation gestures	52	Greetings and obeisances	576
Gestures in dancing, drama, and oratory	53	Numerical signs	802
Nervous gestures	157	Ideas about facial reactions	827
Postures	516	Suggestive gestures	832
Humor	522		

a number of years, according to law he acquires semi-proprietary 427
rights over them. The landlord does not want this to happen, and [425]
so with a view to safeguarding his own interests he leases out his land to different persons in different years. A short-term lease is naturally not conducive to land improvement, for the person cultivating the land does not risk any investment in it. If he does improve it, in one of the following years the landlord may lease it out to someone else who offers to pay more than the person who improved the land. Secondly, those who hold most of the agri- [464]
cultural land in the village are interested in maintaining a supply of cheap agricultural labour, without which it would be impossible for them to cultivate their extensive fields. They benefit more by cultivating their land with the help of this labour, than by leasing out their land. If they leased out all their surplus land the cheap labour supply would appreciably diminish, and for want of competition wages of those who were still available would rise. To [311]
avoid this they choose to leave some of their land uncultivated, and thus we have the paradox of having in the same village many land-hungry families and several hundred acres of uncultivated land.

The land belongs to the family, and normally the head of the 596
family exercises control over it. On the death of the father, the 428
land and other agricultural property—such as tools, implements and livestock—are distributed equally among the brothers. Provision is made for the marriage of unmarried daughters as well as for the maintenance of the minor sons of the deceased. In very special cases, with the consent of all the brothers, a widowed sister is also given a small share. But this is a gratuity rather than a rightful share.

The agriculturists have considerable sentiment for their land 425
and cattle. If adversity compels them to sell some of their fields or cattle, the day when this is done becomes a day of semi-mourning for the household. The hour of transfer is indeed a sad one, and the farmer will complete the necessary formalities with a heavy heart. For several days the family atmosphere remains overcast
with gloom. The womenfolk may even wail and shed tears of real [201]
grief. In the sentiments of an Indian peasant, the Earth occupies a [823]
mother's position and parting with a fragment of it is nearly tantamount to separation from the mother. It is surprising how cattle become almost members of the agriculturist's family, and how

829 partitioned, and separation granted to the members who want to
565 secede from the family. This is sought to be done in an orderly
way, and every possible effort is made to ensure that the differences
593 within the family do not become the subject of local gossip.

When we consider the actual behaviour of the people on the intermediate level, we find that many of these ideals are very considerably diluted. The value of solidarity is understood, but the willingness to make concessions and personal sacrifices for the sake of the family is not sufficiently strong to make it really effective. Age is generally respected, but in angry outbursts abuse
● [201] may be showered on parents and uncles. Unable to control his
temper one may even spit at them, or throw dust at them (symbolizing their burial, and thus indirectly wishing their death), or strike them. It would probably be necessary to express some sort of an apology for this unbecoming behaviour later, but the unrepentant individual can repeat it when he is provoked again. This type of behaviour is confined to a few individuals, and is socially criticized but none the less tolerated. Here too the superiority of the male is insisted upon, but the woman also works and is not tied down to many of the shackles of respectability. She does not lose face if she is beaten by her husband semi-publicly; occasionally she hits him back. She expresses her anger or suffering by running back to her parental home. In many cases some effort is made to conceal family secrets, but when passions rise, a father and son, or two brothers, but more often a mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, will openly quarrel in the courtyard or the village lanes, and in the course of the hearty exchange of abuse these secrets may be broadcast by them at the top of their voices. Family differences are discussed privately and occasionally in public as well, but even when property is divided and separation is completed, mutual bickerings and exchange of harsh words continue for several months in most cases.

829 On the lower level the 'ideals' get diluted so much that it is
593 difficult to find any traces of them in actual practice. Division of
property and separation at this level are so frequent as to reduce
562 the conception of family solidarity to practically a meaningless
829 ideal. On ritual occasions, respect is shown to people on account
of their age or kinship status, but in everyday life one can ignore these considerations with impunity. Although theoretically the woman is inferior, at this level she enjoys much more freedom. She

up man; but his child bride was unable to take her place as his 691 wife for some three years more. To keep her son away from eloping 578 with a young woman, E. R. not only tolerated but encouraged—some people say she actually brought it about—Y.'s liaison with a woman of the same caste living in the neighbourhood. For three or four years everything went on well and the relations between the mother and child were most cordial. Trouble started when Y.'s wife came to live with them. E. R. had expected that her son's amours with the other woman would end shortly. In this she was wrong. The young wife failed to win the affection of her husband, who remained deeply attached to his former mistress. E. R. could not tolerate this. She tried different methods to dissuade her son, and with every failure her relations with him were more embittered. Quarrels between them became frequent. Tired of the incessant flow of criticism and bitter remarks from her, one day Y. struck her—with fists first and later with a stick. He also perhaps pulled her hair. All this happened so suddenly, and E. R.'s husband was at the time so overcome that he found himself helpless and could not intervene in the matter. Infuriated by this E. R. ran into the street and started wailing and cursing loudly. Very soon this attracted a large crowd. Her husband tried to pacify her, but E. R. would not let him come near her. She said to him, 'You claim to be a man! Do you? You could see your son beating me in your very presence and did not lift even your little finger. For me you are dead. Go, go away—for me you are dead. Did you [763] hear that?' Saying this she started breaking her glass bangles. This was quite serious for a Hindu woman breaks her bangles only when she is widowed. The crowd tried to pacify her. Sympathizers made efforts to find out what the matter was. For over an hour [201] E. R. continued cursing her son and husband, spitting 'at their name' and throwing dust, signifying their burial. Then she gave a detailed and rather exaggerated account of the happenings of that evening. Three elders who were present at the spot immediately summoned the son and asked him to touch the feet of his mother and apologize to her. This he did readily, although with a sullen face. But E. R. reacted with another spurt of abuse and foul language. After a while people took them home. The gravity of the matter demanded its consideration by the full village council. Once again the son had to apologize to the mother, and in addition had to pay a small fine for his unbecoming behaviour.

203

203 **DISSEMINATION OF NEWS AND INFORMATION**--informal verbal transmission (e.g., rumor, grapevine); criers and heralds; bulletins and newsletters; etc. See also:

Advertising	447	Conversation	521

Muslims

RITUAL STRUCTURE

Village Festivals

In the foregoing pages we have briefly described the major family festivals of the Hindus and Muslims. Some of the Hindu festivals, particularly Dasara and Holi, are partly communal also, as at one stage the entire Hindu section of the village community participate in them. In the Dasara procession several Muslims also join in. Hindus do not spare their Muslim friends from the Holi colour-throwing. Similarly, Hindus co-operate in the Moharram procession of the Muslims. On the Id day Muslims meet all their friends—Muslim and Hindu alike. But there are some festivals which must be described as 'village festivals' as they do not occur in the regular religious calendar of the Hindus and Muslims; and are generally celebrated by the village community as a whole. The festivals of Pochamma, Batkamma and Maisamma are important celebrations in this category. Pochamma and Maisamma festivals are observed by the village as a whole. Batkamma festival is observed by the Hindu women of the village. The untouchable Mala and Madiga women who cannot join the groups of clean-caste women observe it separately. To these must be added the fair of Jalal Miyan which is sponsored by the Muslims but is largely attended by the Hindus also. 796

Pochamma Festival. The annual worship of Pochamma, the goddess of smallpox, is organized by the village community on a Thursday or Saturday in the month of Shravana. The actual day for the ceremony is fixed by the village elders in consultation with the Deshmukh and the Brahmin priest.

A day previous to the celebration the Madiga drum-beaters go round the village announcing the programme for the morrow and asking the people to get ready. The Kummaris clean the shrines of Pochamma, Mutyalamma and Mahakalamma. The Sakalis (washermen) whitewash them. Village youth construct small leaf sheds in front of the shrines. Wives of the Talaris (village menials) sweep and besmear with red earth the ground around these booths. [203]

Early next day people start making preparations for the worship. It is necessary that every family prepares its *bonam* for the day. For this they cook rice in a new earthenware pot obtained from the potter; remove all soot from the exterior of the pot, apply vermilion and turmeric paste to it on all sides, and then close its mouth. This decorated pot containing rice is known as *bonam*.

204

204 PRESS--newspapers and magazines; gathering of news and information (e.g., reporters, press releases, news services); content (e.g., news, stories, features); publication and distribution; ownership, organization, and personnel; financial support (e.g., subscriptions, advertising, subsidies); regulation; etc. See also:

Printing	213
Publishing	214
Printing supplies	218
Typesetting and printing machinery	402
Advertising	447
Literature	538

the law courts in the city. Now and then State officials visited the 178
village on tour. In the second half of the Jagir period these admini- 369
strative contacts increased very considerably. At the same time
the urban contacts of a section of the village population also grew
gradually. These included visiting relations and friends in the
city, receiving relations and friends from the city, occasional
excursions for shopping in the large city stores and markets as
well as for sight-seeing, temporary stay of a short or long duration
for work in the city, and finally being in everyday touch with
officials resident in the village, who were regarded as an urban ele-
ment in the village population. Increased contacts with the towns [491]
and cities were greatly facilitated by the construction of the
metalled road joining Hyderabad with the district headquarters of
Karimnagar in the interior of the State. This road touches Shamir-
pet. With the introduction of bicycles and buses frequent and
regular contacts with the urban areas were made possible. The 178
progress of education has been rather slow. In the early-Jagir days 871
only a few children belonging to the higher castes, and also to the
upper level families, received any schooling. Even this was con-
fined to a bare acquaintance with three R's. With the opening of a
school in the village education was placed within the reach of a
much larger section and even some untouchable children started
attending the school. Some ambitious parents sent their children
to the higher schools in the city where they could learn English.
Books, periodicals and newspapers which occasionally found their [204]
way into the village conveyed to the people 'strange truths regard-
ing the wide world through the medium of the printed word'.
The State administration initiated some of its welfare and nation- 178
building activities in the countryside. Agriculture, Veterinary and
Animal Husbandry, Medical and Public Health, and Co-opera- 654
tion and Rural Development departments of the State started
functioning in the rural areas. Their representatives and propa-
gandists brought some new ideas and techniques to the village.
The villagers saw their demonstrations, heard their talks, and
were at times even coaxed into doing things in the new ways. This
was indeed novel to them. In the earlier period government had
only collected land revenue, heard some of their disputes, tried
cases arising out of breaches of law, and occasionally forced them
to provide practically free labour and 'presents' for touring govern-
ment officials, but had never interfered with their agricultural

stricted to finding out whether a particular book satisfied the conditions laid down in a conventional scheme of classification. There was little attempt to examine its various aspects as a whole. The beauties of a particular verse or the propriety of a particular idea were discussed, and literary animosity, professional rivalry, or individual jealousy had free play. Now the western canons of literary criticism are applied and the authorities of western criticism are not only referred to but also quoted *in extenso*. Before the advent of English Sanskrit was the only law-giver and the treatises on aesthetics in that language were the only guides. Now the whole critical literature of the English language is at the disposal of the critic, and in his praise or condemnation of a literary production he makes use of them most freely. Recent works on the art of criticism, the standards of beauty and literary taste, the theories of dramatic technique and dramaturgy abound in references to and quotations from western authors. A lead was given by Dr. C. R. Reddi, the present Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University, who in 1899 wrote a critical appreciation of the works of a great poet of the middle ages; this work, which was new in the field, is still read as a model estimate of an author's work. Its success was as much due to his originality as it was to his introduction of methods of interpretation. To-day an accomplished scholar is required to be proficient not only in Telugu but also in English and Sanskrit, and it is not uncommon to find a critic taking an idea or a situation from a Telugu poet and quoting parallels from Shakespeare and Kalidasa at the same time. 538 177

Other branches of prose are also slowly developing. *A Short History of the World* by H. G. Wells has been translated into Telugu; short treatises on physics, chemistry, mathematics, economics, co-operation, and other subjects of practical or scientific value are making their appearance; and with the adoption of the modern languages of India as the media of instruction in schools there is a sustained effort to increase the number of publications of an educational nature.

Journalism is another western importation, and its ever-growing popularity is introducing substantial changes into the vocabulary and style of prose, which is gaining in lucidity, facility of expression, and suitability to different demands. [204]

Telugu drama has also been influenced to a great extent by contact with the West. In one way it might be said that Telugu dramatic literature began in 1883, when Veeresalingam published a translation of *Sakuntala* from Sanskrit, which he followed up two years later with a translation of Sheridan's *Rivals*. The form of dramatic literature which he started caught the imagination of the people, and for a continuous period of nearly fifty years every 536 177 538

205

205 **POSTAL SYSTEM**--mail services (e.g., collection, delivery); transportation of mail (e.g., by pony express, rail, air); special equipment; parcel post; postal ofganization and personnel; finance (e.g., postal rates, subsidies); etc. See also:

Express and freight transportation. . . .	48, 49, 50	Postal savings	454
Postoffice buildings	344	Government enterprises	655

who practise in Secundrabad and Hyderabad, and a few even go 757
to the well-equipped hospitals for prolonged treatment of difficult and persistent diseases. However, for the majority of the population the only medicines used for ordinary ailments are the inexpensive indigenous herbs and drugs which are locally available.

The local post office, under one of the village schoolmasters, 205
serves Shamirpet and a large number of adjoining villages. The system of mail distribution in the countryside is very defective. Often the village postman takes a month or even more to reach a village on his periodic rounds. Letters are generally delivered personally to people who come to the post office for them, or they are handed to a co-villager who happens to visit the post office, for further transmission.

The police station at Shamirpet is in charge of a sub-inspector 625
and has a strength of two head constables and twelve constables. This force is responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the villages under its jurisdiction. The police keep an eye on all doubtful characters, organize regular patrols of the villages and through the subordinate officials keep themselves informed of local
developments. Their official records register all births and deaths, [659]
which must be reported by the inhabitants of the village.

As the tank is more than a mile from the village, the people use 312
well water for domestic purposes. In respect of wells, Shamirpet has been very unlucky. Out of a total of thirty-three wells within the village limits, there are only three which yield good, drinkable water, the water of all other wells being brackish and unpalatable. Most people are therefore able to use sweet water only for drinking and cooking, whilst clothes and household utensils are washed in brackish water. The outlying wards of the Malas and Madigas are more fortunate in this respect, for their wells, situated at a distance of about half a mile from their respective colonies, yield 'sweet' water. In the summer months there is often an acute scarcity of drinking water in the village, and at this time large crowds of women gather at the few sweet-water wells waiting patiently to fill
their many brass and earthen pots. This time of enforced waiting is [521]
spent in gossiping, in exchanging news and often in relating the latest scandals.

The sanitation of the village is the responsibility of the Yetti 364
Madigas, whose traditional duty it is to sweep the street and lanes; 351
in return for the service, the government grants them the use of [465]
certain rent-free lands.

207

207 **RADIO AND TELEVISION**--radio, television, radar, sonar, etc.; technology; use of equipment; facilities and services; organization and specialized personnel; programs and their preparation; audience; finance (e.g., advertising, subsidies); regulation; etc. See also:

Electric power	377
Manufacture of radio and television equipment	380
Description of equipment	408
Advertising	447
Use of radio and radar in aviation	507
Military radio and radar equipment	718

Telugu AW17

Panchayats surveyed had two slaughter houses each, one for sheep and the other for cattle and in a large number of cases, they were auctioned out rather than managed by Panchayat itself. 231

A significant irregularity in this instance was the twofold practice i. e. departmental management versus leasing out to private bidders. While the authorities of Local Boards desired departmental management of collection of receipts and supervision, some Panchayats had been evading this method for long by handing it over to private auctioneers with impunity and the Local Board Officials did nothing to check this growing practice especially more prevalent in the Ceded Districts than in the Northern Circars. Similarly they did nothing to enforce this obligation in many Panchayats which did nothing beyond the provision for construction of slaughter houses and passing resolutions to that effect in their meetings.

Parks: Parks were intended to cater to the recreation facilities of the public in the area of the Panchayat as it was one of its obligatory duties. 367 207

But the survey revealed no enthusiastic observance of this obligation even in the best and economically capable Panchayats. Most of the major Panchayats were practically negligent about it though a few 2nd and 3rd grade Panchayats and occasionally a minor Panchayat here and there had taken up this matter seriously. In East Godavari, Razole Panchayat had beautiful park with radio for listeners, while Panchayats like Nidadavol and Tanuku in West Godavari had only radios with loud speakers for listeners' convenience. In the Ceded Districts, Dharmavaram in Anantpur, Kampli in Bellary, Maddikera in Kurnool, and Yellamanchili in Vizagapatam District had nice parks while the majority of other major Panchayats had only radio sets. Most of the Minor Panchayats had no parks, except in stray cases as Achanta in East Godavari.

Public Markets: Construction of public markets was another of the obligatory duties of the Panchayats and was observed more in the breach than in practice. Though almost every major and minor Panchayat got a regular revenue from the vendors who got their goods for offering for sale, they were left to the mercies of sun and rain without the Panchayats ever bothering about providing them with any sort of regular permanent or semi-permanent sheds 443

367 In the Godavari Districts again, some of the minor Panchayats appeared to be paying heed to this as in Yeditha and Kapileswarapuram but none of the minor Panchayats in other districts showed any interest.

● 207 **Radio**: This had become more or less a universal feature in most of the Panchayats both major and minor and provided recreation to the listening public.

485 **Provision of Bus Stands and Cart Stands**: This was a practice that was gradually growing but was not yet prevalent on a wide scale. Some of the major Panchayats had this facility within their areas as Razole in East Godavari, Tadepalligudam, Kovvur, Undi, Velpur, Akividu and Peatapadu in West Godavari, Vuyyuru in Kistna, Parvatipuram, Bobbili, Salur and Kasimkot in Vizagapatam, Dharmavaram and Gooty in Anantpur, and Nandikotkur, Dhone and Pattikonda in Kurnool.

744 **Help in Case of Epidemics**: This obligation was met with varying degrees of success in the several Panchayats. The Panchayats in the 1st grade were giving every possible attention, while the Panchayats in the 2nd and 3rd grades were not always able to do much though they too appeared to be very enthusiastic. For instance, the 2nd grade Panchayats like Vuyyuru and Jaggayapeta in Kistna and 3rd grade Panchayats like Razole in East Godavari, Ganapavaram in West Godavari, Bobbili, Salur and Parvatipuram in Vizagapatam, Markapur, Maddikera, Kadiri and Nandikotkur in Kurnool, Yeditha, Gooty and Penu Konda in Anantpur and Kosgi, Harpanhalli, Kudligi, etc. in Bellary were assisting the villagers in times of infection, by providing additional sanitary help and vaccinators.

743 [232] **Dispensaries and Medical Help**: A few Panchayats began to contemplate of late to undertake this obligation. Panchayats like Amalapuram in East Godavari spent nearly Rs. 2,000 per year on this item. Bhimavaram in West Godavari had constructed a veterinary hospital at a cost of Rs. 4,000 and also gave an annual donation of Rs. 2,500 to it. Tanuku and Ramchandrapuram Panchayats in East Godavari intended opening medical centres. They were found to be making the necessary preparations. Tadepalligudam, another 3rd Grade Panchayat in West Godavari was able to gather about Rs. 2,000 with a view to start a veterinary dispensary of its own. Mukkamala, a minor Panchayat in East Godavari was the first Panchayat in the Presidency to have a medical dispensary of its own since the last twenty years. In Vuyyuru and Bobbili, the

212

212 **WRITING**--picture writing (e.g., type, technique, use); written symbols (e.g., ideograms, phonograms); systematization (e.g., syllabary, alphabet); reading and spelling; incidence of literacy; writing materials (e.g., parchment, paper, ink); instruments (e.g., pen, brush); methods (e.g., shorthand, chirography); products (e.g., inscriptions, diaries, letters, manuscripts); clerical specialists (e.g., scribes, stenographers); etc. See also:

Communication	20	Representative art	532
Draftsmanship	341	Forms of literature	538
Description of typewriters	405	Signs for numerals	802
Description of writing instruments	413		

THE CHANGING SCENE

596 178 166 369 In the organization of the family the changed conditions and changing attitudes of the people have brought about some significant variations. It is difficult to present it statistically, but it could generally be said that in recent years the cohesion of the family has suffered on account of the growth of the spirit of individualism. Thereby family solidarity has been adversely affected. The people no longer have the same attachment for the soil of their settlement, and consequently mobility has increased. Among the younger people, especially among those who have had some education or urban contacts, the desire to go to the city is manifesting itself on an increasing scale. In making records of the biographies and general attitudes of the people, the contrast in the attitudes of the two steps of people emerged clearly. While the elderly and the middle-aged, [212] mostly illiterate, complained about the inconveniences of village life, they still regarded it as the only way of life possible for *them*. On the other hand, the younger people seemed to idealize the city and its numerous attractions, and made no effort to conceal their contempt for the rustic ways of the village-folk. This change in attitudes and preferences has on the one hand encouraged migration to cities of young people who take up the small jobs there; and on the other it has generated disharmony and dissensions within the family causing considerable dislocation in the established principles according to which priorities and concessions went with age and kinship status. Service in the army, and city restaurants and the influence of the cinema tend to accentuate all this, but so far the number of young men with these tendencies is not more than 10% or 15% of the total in their age-group.

564 178 The caste system in the community presents only slight variations in some directions. As before, caste still retains its endogamous character. Similarly, caste continues to be a part of, and is sanctioned by, the traditional religion. However, its occupational character has undergone some change. People are now taking to new occupations. A goldsmith has opened a tea shop. Washermen and similar other castes are accepting menial jobs in the city. These are not their traditional occupations. Besides Muslims some non-Komti Hindus have set up general shops in the village; in the traditional system only Komtis could do so. Thus people are either giving up their traditional occupations, or they are taking to occupations which by tradition belong to some other castes.

Literacy: Literacy test to the members of the Panchayats was 212
never seriously taken by the Madras Government. Only the 623
Vice-president and the President were found to be invariably literate except in a few instances, and even there, local importance and weight of authority served as the best springs of administrative efficiency rather than the test of literacy.

The Election of the Panchayat President: This sometimes led 666
to village disturbances and party factions, but, the remedy did not 578
appear to get him elected by the villagers as a whole, instead of by the Panchayat.

Village Officials: The idea of associating the village officers: 624
the Karanams and the Munsif, as the ex-officio members of the Panchayat attracted the attention of the framers of the Madras Panchayat Bill of 1941, "in order that their experience and influence may be at the disposal of the Panchayat," but, this was strongly opposed by the reformers of the Local Self Government who felt that these village officers were no longer the natural leaders, but salaried officials of the Government and hence unfit to participate in matters of village administration entrusted to a purely honorary body. Another reason that was often adduced against them was that both of them might generally be leaders of two opposing parties and their entrance into the Panchayat would simply wreck its working.

Executive of the Panchayat: Under the amendment of the 642
Madras Local Boards Act in 1943, the Government of Madras appoin- 647
ted executive officers to Panchayats. The executive authority had 1. to carry into effect all the resolutions of the Board, 2. to perform all the duties and to exercise all the powers specifically imposed or conferred on the executive authority by the Act; in fact, whenever it was expressly so provided for the sanction of the Board and subject to all other restrictions, limitations and conditions hereinafter imposed, 3. to exercise the executive power, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of the Act and 4. to be directly responsible for the due fulfilment of the Act. (Sec. 24-B of the amendment to the Madras Local Boards Act 1943). He was to carry out all the resolutions passed by the Panchayat, but this obligation was limited to legal resolutions alone.

The executive officer was the custodian of all Government Records though the President had free access to them. All the official correspondence addressed to the District Board, or the Provincial Government had to pass through the President. While

871 *Education.*—A day school has recently been started with 40 on the roll, 25 average attendance. Most of the pupils come from other [212] villages. Three adults are able to read the vernacular. Eight can write their signatures. The karnam alone can read and write well. About five or six have learned to read and write but have lost the [191] ability latterly. No one knows English.

There are about 50 or 60 books, all in Telugu. Of these about 214 seven or eight relate to the Hindu Law and to village administration. The rest relate to the Puranas.

Village administration.—There is no panchayat.

624 There is a monigar and a karnam and two talaiyaris. The karnam keeps the accounts of the village, and the monigar is the village magistrate and collects the kist. The talaiyaris are the servants attached to the village. There is no sanitary administration.

625 The nearest Police station is situated at a distance of 12 miles in Sodam, which station was formerly at Kandur.

In recent years there has been practically no crime. About five years ago there was a murder, never detected.

691 For the present there is only one case belonging to this village pending judgment at the Sessions Court, Chittoor. This is about a land dispute.

Ordinarily disputes are settled here in the presence of the monigar, karnam, and some leading men of the village.

178 *History and prospects.*—There has been economic deterioration due to the scarcity of rains and the consequent failure of crops. The ryots have been impoverished and consequently obliged to get into the clutches of creditors.

For the present there does not seem to be scope for economic improvement. The tanks are all getting silted up. The bunds are getting decreased in height. Recently one bund burst. The persons concerned are very poor to bear the cost of repairs. But if the repairs are executed then there might be some improvement and the area of irrigated lands might be extended.

437 More wells could be sunk with advantage. They are not sunk owing to lack of funds with the ryots. People sell land owing to the fact that by doing so only they can support their families and themselves. Land is bought by well-to-do persons as a sort of investment and also because it is sometimes had at a price lower than its right worth.

In recent years there has been no emigration at all. But about 167 ten years ago two persons of Yekili caste emigrated to Natal. They have not since returned. Their emigration was due to their failure to get a living here.

Such movements have generally no visible effect on the life of the village.

Another interesting point is that smelting ovens are seen all 325 round the village in a state of ruin. It seems that formerly (about thirty or forty years ago) iron ore found all round the village was smelted here locally, and that this was sufficient for the local demand. But now no such practice exists. However iron is still found in the shape of filings in large or small quantities round about. Moreover this iron is held to be of good quality. More detailed information can be had from the North Arcot District Manual, wherein it is mentioned.

213

213 PRINTING--methods (e.g., block printing, movable type, linotype, photographic reproduction); materials (e.g., paper, ink); typography; binding; products (e.g., sheet music, maps, pamphlets); specialists; etc. See also:

Newspapers and magazines	204	Description of printing and binding machinery .	409
Manufacture of printing and binding machinery .	398	Route maps and charts	487

Telugu AW17

671 rooms. The school buildings have been erected at the cost of the villagers. Efforts are being made to provide more accommodation. The school trains pupils for the Kanarese Lower Secondary Examination and instruction is given in Kanarese. Now efforts are being made to open classes in English and also to open a school exclusively for girls. There are about fifty boys in attendance and about fifty girls. School is held from 6-30 to 10-30 in the morning and from 2 to 6 in the evening. No time is allowed for play at all. Instruction is in Kanarese, although the language the people speak is Telugu.

[191] The number of persons who know how to read the vernacular is 131; fifteen or sixteen can read and write English.

[213] There are about thirty or forty books almost all in Sanskrit and Kanarese.

A night school has recently been opened. It has twenty on the rolls, mostly adults. Average attendance five.

623 *Village administration.*—There is a panchayat composed of five members. The main work of the panchayat lies in the field of village improvement in the different branches of education, sanitation, etc.

624 There is a patel and a shanbhog. The shanbhog's duty lies in keeping the village accounts. The patel is concerned with the general oversight of the village and the collection of revenue. There are four servants, two for police purposes and the two others concerned in the collection of revenue.

364 *Sanitary administration.*—The panchayat is concerned with the sanitary administration of the village. The panchayat holds meetings when occasion arises and takes steps to improve the sanitation of the village. Every Monday each family supplies half a day's labour, compoundable by a money payment of an anna. This does what is needful for the sanitation of the village. The panchayat exercises a general oversight in these matters. The Sanitary Inspector and the District Health and Sanitary Officer inspect the village often.

625 There is a police sub-station with a daffadar and five police constables. During nights, three other men watch the village; their services are purely voluntary and unpaid.

624 The higher authorities are the Amildar, Assistant Commissioner, and the Deputy Commissioner. The Amildar is the only official with whom there is contact at all often. The others visit the village about once or twice in a year. There is a resident shaikdar or revenue inspector.

674 *Crime.*—There have been practically no crimes punishable with capital punishment hitherto. Whatever crime there has been consists only of burglaries and minor thefts. These too are rare. For the past six years there has been only one burglary (in 1916); valuables were lost to the value of Rs. 150.

691 No villagers are engaged in litigation. Almost all civil disputes are decided in the village itself by the panchayat.

178 *History and prospects.*—There has been economic deterioration due to the scarcity of rains and the consequent failure of crops.
426 The ryots have been obliged to borrow and this is very well evidenced by the amount of rural indebtedness. No remission is

214

214 PUBLISHING--organized production and distribution of records; products (e.g., books, sheet music, phonograph records); personnel and organization; selection of material to be published; business arrangements with authors; (e.g., advances, royalties); sales promotion; finance (e.g., profits, subsidies); etc. See also:

Music, art, and literature 53
Newspaper and magazine publishing 204
Copyrights 434
Book dealers 549
Humanistic studies 814

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWl India

Telugu AW17

871 *Education.*—A day school has recently been started with 40 on
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about. Moreover this iron is held to be of good quality. More
detailed information can be had from the North Arcot District
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217

217 ARCHIVES--repositories of records (e.g., libraries, art galleries, museums); state archives (e.g., court records, administrative records); making collections; accessions; filing and indexing; curatorial activities; services (e.g., exhibits, loans); organization and specialized personnel; sources of support (e.g., public, private); etc. See also:

Library and museum buildings	346	Collecting hobbies	529
Land records	429	Exhibitions	543
Financial records	461	Archivists	814

365 they were off soon after they were lit. Sometimes there was a partial contract by which the kerosene oil lights were provided by Panchayats while the petromax lights were provided by the contractor or vice versa, and the same evils were revealed to be pregnant in this practice too.

217 **Provision of Libraries and Newspapers**: Libraries and reading rooms were provided by Panchayats in a large number of places. Though most of the 1st grade Panchayats had no such provision except in Tuni, 2nd and 3rd grade Panchayats showed greater interest in the matter. The inquiry showed that almost all the 2nd and 3rd grade Panchayats and a large number of minor Panchayats too were providing this facility to the public. The charges varied from Re. 0-4-0 to Re. 1 depending on the number of books and periodicals in the library.

Very few Panchayats like Amalapuram had big libraries with a separate manager-clerk and office-boys while the libraries in other Panchayats were managed either by a separate clerk or by the executive of the Panchayat itself. In a few places, individual subscriptions were also collected at the rate of as. 4 and as. 8 according to the nature of facilities given to the subscribers.

The library grants by the Government were few and far between and most of the libraries were not receiving them.

543 **Management of Fairs and Festivals**: Management of fairs and festivals and provision of amenities for the pilgrims—erecting of barracks, stalls, urinals and sheds and other public health amenities—belonged to the domain of Panchayats whenever important celebrations were held within their confines. The money that was to be spent on conveniences was either collected by way of subscriptions or obtained as a grant from the Government or spent from the funds of the Panchayat.

Hardly any of the 1st grade Panchayats had this obligation, while a few in the 2nd and 3rd grades and some of the minor Panchayats seemed to be undertaking this work. Ramchandrapuram, and Tanuku in East Godavari and Bhimavaram in the West Godavari discharged this obligation. In Anantapur, Kadiri Panchayat had to manage every year the Car-festival of Narsinhaswamy. An illustration of a typical expenditure as in Kadiri would indicate the nature of expenditure incurred by Panchayats on such occasions :

auctioned, while Government wanted them to be departmentally managed. 231

Parks for the public recreation were constructed only in a few Panchayats while the majority were indifferent. 367

Similarly market sites where fees were collected on sale of vegetables, grains or animals were mostly without stalls or sheds to shelter the sellers and buyers and the goods offered for sale. 443

Burning and burial grounds were not properly maintained either in the major or minor Panchayats. 764

Street lighting undertaken only by a few major Panchayats was left mostly to contractors who would light the streets hardly for a few hours. Panchayats did not undertake this task directly as they thought it was difficult to control and check the pilfering of kerosene oil, lights, wicks, burners, chimneys, etc. The remedy for that would be to get standardised and stamped goods for the use of Panchayats from Government Stores and to punish offenders mercilessly than to leave this function to the mercy of the contractors who would only be keen to charge the highest rates than giving proper service. 365

Provision of libraries and newspapers was undertaken only by very few Panchayats either due to lack of funds or sufficient interest. 217

Management of fairs and festivals was done by a few minor or major Panchayats, but, without exploiting their privileged position by means of a pilgrim tax or a tax on the vendors. 543

Optional functions like plantation of trees, provision of cart and bus stands, radio sets for listeners, help in epidemics, provision of dispensaries, etc. were done only by very few Panchayats. 623

The attendance of the members at the meetings of Panchayats was so irregular that there was often no quorum. Sometimes the Panchayats held no meetings at all for a long time or the members absented themslves continuously without any action being taken against them.

Panchayats were superseded and special officers were appointed to administer them for a year or two, when Panchayats could not work properly either due to local factions or opposition to taxation or any other undesirable features. Fresh Panchayat was ushered in only after the prevailing irregularities were removed and when the prospects of its smooth working were tolerably certain. 687 623

221

221 ANNUAL CYCLE--**seasonal distribution and succession of food-getting and other economic activities; seasonal migrations in the gathering or production of food (e.g., transhumance, nomadism). See also:**

Migrations	166, 167	Annual ceremonial calendar	796
Economic productivity	433	Calendar	805

it is used for the growing of vegetables, specially fruit-bearing 351
creepers, and throughout the year it is used by the household fowls.
Similarly, in most of these houses the cattle-shed is very close to 343
the main living-room. Hardly half a dozen houses in the village [514]
have latrines; the majority of the people go out into the fields or
behind the rocks for answering the call of nature. Notwithstanding [353]
some variety, the decorative designs found on all the houses follow
a generally established pattern. The floors are swept twice every
day in almost all the houses. The mud floor is periodically smeared [356]
with cow-dung mixed with water and the walls are washed
annually with lime or coloured earth. Grain and provisions are [251]
stored in large receptacles made either by the potter and well
burnt to a vermilion red or by the Erkala in their traditional
styles of basket-work.

All the houses in Shamirpet can be classed into one of these three 342
types. The Gudse-type huts of the Erkalas are, however, a class
by themselves. These small, circular huts, made from sheets of 351
weed-matting, are about twenty feet in diameter and are often
only six feet high. The interior is unpartitioned and serves as
bedroom, dining-room, living-room and kitchen. Pigs and poultry
are housed in similar but smaller round huts built in the immediate
vicinity of the dwelling-hut.

From time to time groups of families belonging to the nomadic [221]
castes come to the village. These have their low, portable huts,
which are mostly made of folding bamboo screens. Almost every
month some group belonging to this category makes its appearance
in Shamirpet and after a stay of a week or so moves off with its
huts, dogs and pigs.

5. THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF SHAMIRPET

The nearness of Shamirpet to the cities of Hyderabad and 621
Secundrabad has been mentioned. People holding small govern- [574]
ment posts or having urban relations make periodic visits to the
city. Others, especially young men, cycle down to Secundrabad or
Hyderabad to visit the cinema or to look at the shops.

In the broad social sense, however, Shamirpet's more intimate ties are with the villages in the neighbourhood. In the events and developments of these villages the people of Shamirpet are very keenly interested. The hamlets of Babugura and Upparpalli are

222

222 COLLECTING--edible materials gathered (e.g., roots, fruits, seeds, seaweed, insects, honey, sap, syrup, eggs); techniques and artifacts employed; economic importance of collecting; organisation of activities; division of products; associated beliefs and practices; etc. See also:

Natural resources in fauna and flora	13	Collection of marine fauna	226
Collection of nonedible raw materials and salt	31	Diet	262

They mostly hunt small game, and are adept in the use of traps, 224
snares and dogs. At the time of these investigations there were six
guns in the village; and occasionally their owners went out shooting.
Similarly, fishing is done by very few people, mostly by some 226
young Muslim men. They do not use fishing nets and traps, and
practically the only method employed by them for catching the
fish is that of using the rod, hook and bait. The large tank in the
vicinity of the village could afford a good supply of fish, but the
absence of the fishing caste in the village population leaves this
possibility almost unexplored. Fishermen from the neighbouring
villages, however, periodically come to the tank.

The surroundings of Shamirpet offer very few opportunities 222
for the collection of wild food. Around the village there are not 137
many fruit-bearing trees. Mango and *jamun* (rose apple, *Eugenia
jambolana*) fruits are mostly eaten while they are still unripe by the
village boys. Parties of children and young people periodically [857]
go to pick wild berries when they are in season. These are mostly
eaten on the spot. When wild figs are ripe children collect and
eat them. Another item of food eagerly sought by everyone is the
chikur—tender tamarind leaves. These leaves are curried, as well
as pickled and preserved. Honey is collected by some men of
lower castes and inferior social status, whenever they can spot a
comb. Medicinal herbs, roots, tubers and barks are collected
according to need.

Utilization of forest resources is not open to everyone now. From 314
the surrounding scrub jungle villagers can collect only a limited 185
quantity of fuel, as this—as well as getting timber—is regulated
by the Forest Department of the government, and permits can be
obtained only by making scheduled payments.

Different kinds of coloured earth used in washing walls and 134
decorating the interiors of homes, as well as the ordinary requirements 342
for the construction of houses, can be freely collected by the
people. The Vaddars can break and shape stones without having
to pay for them.

6. NON-AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS

In an effort to explain the broad outlines of the economic 437
organization of the community, the traditional occupations and
functions of the different castes have already been described.
With reference to the inter-relations between the agriculturists

224

224 HUNTING AND TRAPPING--animals sought; hunting methods and techniques (e.g., stalking, collective drive); description and use of traps and snares; use of domestic animals (e.g., dogs, ferrets); special elaborations (e.g., trapping for the fur trade); hunting trips; economic importance of hunting; organization of labor and division of catch; associated beliefs and practices; hunting for sport; regulation (e.g., game laws, open seasons); etc. See also:

Native fauna	136
Weapons	411
Transportation of animal carcasses	483

000 agricultural season the Vaddars accept other work also for extra
wages.

564 The Erkalas earn their livelihood through a variety of means.
224 The menfolk are hunters. They are also adept in the use of snares
and traps. They train hunting dogs and use them effectively for
chasing and tracking wounded animals. When they succeed in
getting some game, they retain a part of it for their domestic
735 consumption and sell the rest to the villagers. The women beg
in the countryside by singing songs and narrating legends. They
787 also do some fortune-telling. Family earnings are supplemented
285 by basket-making, a task at which both men and women work.
They also rear pigs.

THE MADIGAS

564 The Madigas are the lowest caste in Shamirpet. Economically
241 they constitute the poorest section of the community. While the
465 Malas, who are also untouchables but a degree higher than the
Madigas, either cultivate their own land or work as farm labourers
for daily wages, the Madigas affiliate themselves to the households
of the substantial agriculturists in the village. According to the
size of the land-holding of the cultivator, one or more Madiga
families permanently attach themselves to him. At every stage of
agricultural operations during the year the attached Madiga, and
his wife and children, work in the fields of their master. They are
not paid any daily wages. After the crops are harvested they have
to go and 'beg' in the master's fields or threshing grounds. The
conventions of the community have prescribed the rates of payment,
mostly on the basis of the area of land under cultivation
and the yield during the particular harvest. Thus for a certain area
a basic minimum must be given; but if on account of good crops
the yield has been high it is expected that the affiliated Madiga
241 family would be given a proportionately larger share. In former
times there used to be considerable compulsion, and, being in no
461 position to protest, the Madigas had to slave for their masters, who
564 could be quite ruthless. If the master was kind and considerate,
they regarded it as their good luck. On the whole it was advisable
for them to tolerate even a bad master, for any protests or refusal
to do the allotted work on their part would eventually have meant
their being forced to leave the village. Now, of course, conditions
have changed, and Madigas do not any longer put up with indig-

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

231 diseases. Plough-cattle are on the whole better looked after. But
the neglect of the cow, traditionally regarded as 'the mother', is
indeed pathetic. Absence of good breeding bulls and lack of grazing
grounds further account for the poor condition of the cattle.
In the absence of a good pedigree bull, scrub bulls of no particular
[311] description are allowed to move freely among the cows. According
to village land records there are 1,482 acres of pasture-land in the
area surrounding the settlement; but this land is almost always
auctioned to contractors from outside the village. As these pastures
are not available for grazing to the village cattle, they roam about
the shrubs and rocks around the village and eat whatever fodder
is available there.

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231 of average peasants in the village. The well-to-do agriculturists always have a sufficient number of cattle to meet their own agricultural requirements. But the average and poorer peasants find great difficulty in tilling their fields in time with the limited number of their own or hired cattle. Dependence on the monsoons obliges them to make certain variations in their agricultural schedule to fit in with the uncertainty of the rains. Some of their operations must precede the first rainfall; others must follow it almost immediately. For some days during the busy season this causes great pressure on available resources in men and cattle. The cultivators who depend on hired cattle or who practise co-operative lending and borrowing of cattle cannot take the best advantage of the first rains, and this enforced wait results in untimely sowing and poor crops.

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146 people. In May 1951 the total daily yield of milk in the village
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guns in the village; and occasionally their owners went out shoot-
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to pay for them.

6. NON-AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS

In an effort to explain the broad outlines of the economic 437
organization of the community, the traditional occupations and
functions of the different castes have already been described.
With reference to the inter-relations between the agriculturists

226

226 **FISHING**--species sought (e.g., fish, shellfish); gathering of marine fauna; fishing methods and techniques (e.g., hook and line, nets, poison); description and use of traps and weirs; special elaborations (e.g., fishing for sport); economic importance of fishing; organization of labor and division of catch; associated beliefs and practices; fishing for sport; regulation (e.g., licenses); etc.

See also:

Native fauna	136	Net manufacture	286
Manufacture of poisons	278	Boats	501

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231 **DOMESTICATED ANIMALS**--captive and tamed animals; domesticated insects (e.g., silkworms, bees); pets (e.g., dogs, cats); domestic animals; special treatment and uses of each; taming and training; care and feeding; grooming; slaughtering; associated beliefs and rituals; economic and social importance of animal husbandry; diseases; etc. See also:

Work in furs, hides, and skins	281
Work in bone and horn	321
Animal shelters	343
Use of animals in transportation	492
Names of animals	552
Animals as wealth	556
Ethnozoology	826

364 certain rent-free lands. Moreover, every morning the womenfolk 351 of each house sweep and clean that portion of the lane which lies directly in front of their own house, sprinkle it with water or water mixed with cow-dung and often decorate the entrance with designs drawn with millet or rice flour. Notwithstanding this, the lanes are not always very clean. The reasons for this are many. The Yetti Madigas do not sweep the village very regularly; and the women, when they have finished their housework, often throw the refuse [514] into the public thoroughfare. Thirdly, very few people have latrines in their houses, and even those who have them are inclined to make their children ease themselves at the side of the ● [231] road. However, the pigs kept by the Erkala caste as well as the large number of dogs in the village are good scavengers and help to keep the village clean.

4. THE HOUSES

342 351 The dwellings in Shamirpet can be classified into three main groups: the Bhawanti, the Penkutillu and the Gudse.

The Bhawanti. This is a large house with stone walls and tiled roofs; it generally stands in its own compound, which is surrounded by a wall, and invariably has five to six rooms. The following account of the house of I.R., a woman with considerable local influence and a good-sized agricultural holding, will illustrate this type of house. As we enter the gate in the compound wall we find ourselves in front of an open space which constitutes [372] the courtyard of the house. On one side of this courtyard there is a cattle-shed, the end of which is partitioned off as a store-room for fuel-cakes made of cow-dung. Opposite the gate across the courtyard is a verandah running the whole length of the house; at one end of this verandah there is a small room in which agricultural implements are kept. The main door of the house leads into an [515] inner court which is open to the sky. In the centre is a stone-lined sink, known as *gachhu*, which can be drained and cleaned, and here, sitting on small wooden stools, the women of the house bath. The inner court is surrounded on three sides by rooms; on one side there are two inter-connected rooms, the first being used as a dining-room and the second as a kitchen. Opposite this, running the whole length of the inner court, is a long room, while opposite to the main house door and across the inner court is a door which

nities, unreasonable harshness in behaviour or rough handling. 564
Payments differ on the basis of the quality and quantity of work 241
they turn out, and also partly on the nature and temperament of 466
the employer. Slow and lazy workers are paid the barest 564
minimum, while the experienced and the efficient earn much
more. In the words of a Madiga, 'If we do not work well, who will 241
pay us? If we do very little work and that too badly, we get what 465
we deserve in the end. If we do not work well we cannot afford to be sensitive; we have to be thick-skinned to stand the abuse of our master. But if we work hard and earn our wages by the sweat of our brow, the master has to treat us well.' To quote another informant: 'Some masters are large-hearted. They make us work hard, but they feed us well. Others expect us to work like oxen, but when it comes to feeding us they dole out mere handfuls as if we were little calves. They always grumble and curse, but when it is time for making payment to us they seem to forget that we too must have a morsel to fill our bellies and a yard of cloth to cover our bodies.' In addition to what the Madiga families get by 'begging' at the time of harvesting, during the busy agricultural season they are fed once a day by the master. According to convention, the master should give a new cloth once every year to each individual from the attached Madiga family who has worked in his fields.

Very few Madigas possess any land worth mentioning, and 564
therefore independent cultivation by them is almost negligible. 231
But they have several other additional means of subsistence open 465
to them. They have to dispose of the dead cattle in the village.
As they do not refrain from carrion, this constitutes one source [262]
of food supply for them. They are also entitled to get one half of
the hide of the dead animal; the other half belongs to the owner.
From the owner's share of the hide the Madigas have to make for
him such leather articles as he may require for agricultural purposes.
Several Madiga families cure hides and work in leather; [281]
others earn a part of their living by playing drums and pipes at [533]
ceremonial occasions.

2. AGRICULTURE

The settled area of Shamirpet, including the two neighbouring 311
hamlets, is spread over an area of 58 acres. Out of this Shamirpet proper occupies 31·4 acres. In the land surrounding the settlement,

241/461 As these crops become ready for harvesting, the annual cycle of agricultural activities comes very near to completion. When the harvesting is over, the farmers get a brief spell of rest and leisure. Now and then they go round the fields and remove the weeds and other wild plants. Their work during this part of the year does not necessitate hard manual labour. In a leisurely way they take in hand activities of a preparatory nature which are a prelude to their major agricultural work of the rainy season and winter. Manure from cow-dung pits is carried to the fields and is evenly spread there. Grass and other wild plants growing in the fields are removed. The land is kept ready for ploughing in a month's time. In a few days the signs of approaching rains compel them to cast off their lethargy. The preparations for ploughing inaugurate a new circle of annual agricultural activities, and the advent of late summer rains sends them back once again into the fields.

4. CATTLE AND DOMESTIC ANIMALS

[241] 231 Agriculture in the village still largely follows the age-old pattern. Even to-day old style bullock-drawn wooden ploughs are used by the agriculturists. In such a system the value of draught cattle is very great indeed, for efficient farming under these conditions depends to a very great extent upon the availability of good bullocks. Some agriculturists use male buffaloes for ploughing the fields, but bullocks continue to be their favourites. Cows and she-buffaloes are kept for milk. The shepherds keep large herds of goats and sheep. Some Muslims as well as Hindus, with the exception of the Brahmins and the Komtis, may also keep a few goats. Pigs are kept only by the Erkalas. Among domestic pets, dogs are popular with every section of the village population. The number of cats in the village is fairly large, but they are not kept as pets. Some people keep parrots in cages, and teach them to utter a few words. Three Muslims have domesticated partridges. A Hindu shopkeeper has a tiny blackbird in a cage hanging in front of his shop. Poultry is kept by all sections of the village population, except the Brahmins and the Komtis. In addition to the usual fowls, four families have ducks and turkeys also.

In connection with this study a survey of village animals was undertaken in May 1951. The result of the survey is summarized in the following tables:

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

TABLE VIII

Cattle in Shamirpet

Type of animal	*Bovine*	*Bubaline*
1. Work animals, over three years of age	285	75
2. Animals in milk	7	17
3. Milch animals gone dry	18	71
4. Animals under one year of age; both male and female	152	69
5. Cows not fertile or heifers	186	8
	648	240

TABLE IX

Goats and Sheep

Animal	*Number*		
	Age up to 1 year	*Age between 1 and 3 years*	*Age over 3 years*
1. Goats (*a*) male	9	21	9
(*b*) female	5	149	1
2. Sheep (*a*) male	13	85	5
(*b*) female	11	297	2

TABLE X

Pigs and Poultry

Type	*Number*
1. Pigs	58
2. Fowls (*a*) male	52
(*b*) female	232
(*c*) chickens	105
3. Ducks	14

From Table VIII it will be clear that for the 3,000 acres of agricultural land there are only 360 plough animals in the village. As cattle work in pairs for ploughing there are only 180 units available in the village for this purpose. Each unit has to plough a little more than 16 acres, and this is really too much for the animals which are, according to the report of the Veterinary and Animal Husbandry unit working with our team, 'in a poor condition—weak, emaciated, ill-nourished, ill-housed and uncared for'. In recent years liver fluke and fascioliasis have impaired the health of the cattle and exposed them to attacks of various other

231 diseases. Plough-cattle are on the whole better looked after. But the neglect of the cow, traditionally regarded as 'the mother', is indeed pathetic. Absence of good breeding bulls and lack of grazing grounds further account for the poor condition of the cattle. In the absence of a good pedigree bull, scrub bulls of no particular
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651 514 were Re. 0-12-0 and Re. 1 per mensem for a latrine for cleaning once and twice separately. In Undi the scavenging fees were in a gradation to the members of the family as Re. 0-8-0 for four members, Re. 0-10-0 for four to eight members, Re. 0-12-0 to Re. 1 for eight to twelve members per mensem and Rs. 1-8-0 per rice mill. In Akividu, the rates were based on the individual ability of the families and institutions, i. e. Rs. 9 for all factories, Rs. 6 for latrines of all big families; Rs. 3 for latrines of moderate families, and Rs. 2-4-0 for latrines of ordinary families, and Rs. 1-2-0 for other families. Even here, the division was purely arbitrary and there was no clear cut basis on which these differentiations were made.

In Kistna District, the Panchayats like Kantaram had altogether dispensed with the idea of scavenging service as they had provided bore-hole latrines, while in other Panchayats the same variations in scavenging fees continued.

In Vizagapatam, there was always the difficulty of procuring the services of the scavengers by the Panchayat. In Bobbili and Salur, people had to depend upon the services of the private scavengers. Here the rates were observed to be varying according to the bargaining power of the parties from Re. 0-6-0 to Rs. 1-8-0 per latrine per mensem. In other Panchayats, where the scavenging services were provided through them, the rates were based either on capital valuation of the house or number of persons in the family.

In the Ceded Districts, there was no problem of scarcity or non-availability of scavengers for the Panchayat service. In Kurnool, some of the Panchayats like Dhone and Maddikera made it a habit to relate public scavenging fees to the house tax, with variations ranging from Re. 0-4-0 to Rs. 1-8-0 per mensem.

The question of variations of rates did not arise in the case of minor Panchayats, as most of them did not utilize private scavenging services at all, except in a few instances. Most of the minor Panchayats investigated in East and West Godavari Districts, Kistna, Vizagapatam and the Ceded Districts had not got any private scavenging amenities provided by the Panchayat. Even when it was provided, as in Palivela and Kothapeta in East Godavari, the rates were Re. 0-12-0 per latrine per month in the former while in the latter they started from Re. 0-12-0 Rs. 2-4-0 and Rs. 9 per quarter per latrine.

231 651 **Slaughter House Fees**: Slaughter house fees constituted another important source of income to all major Panchayats, and

in some cases for minor Panchayats too as the provision of slaughter 231
houses was an obligatory duty of the Panchayat. 651

Government desired slaughter houses to be departmentally managed and their collection of fees to be done by the Panchayat staff. In practice, however, the right of collection was auctioned to the highest bidder who paid the amount in one lump sum or by instalments to the Panchayats. He would collect the fees at the rates fixed by the Panchayat through his own agents. In some places there were two or three slaughter houses in the same Panchayat area, separately for pigs, sheep and goats, cows, bullocks and buffaloes, but the supervision of the Panchayats over the slaughter houses was very often most unsatisfactory. Neither [744] the sanitary inspector of the Panchayat nor the veterinary surgeon visited the mutton houses to inspect the type of mutton that was offered for sale, to examine whether it was fit for consumption and to regulate the sanitary conditions in those places. The supervisory staff of Panchayats and the Department of Public Health were too complacent to better the existing state of affairs.

Of the 13 villages for which information was available almost all had uniform rates fixed for goats and sheep which varied between two and four annas each. Slaughter of cows, bullocks and buffaloes and pigs was less common, more than half the number of villages having no rates for these. Rates for cows and bullocks varied between Re. 1 and Rs. 2½ whereas that for the pigs about 5 annas in most cases. Only Guntakal had a uniform rate of one rupee for all the three.

Again the fixation of the slaughter house fees was a matter left to the individual discretion of each Panchayat. The first grade Panchayats like Tuni, Guntakal and Narsapur in East Godavari, Anantpur and West Godavari Districts respectively had fixed up the rates, but, left them to be collected by the auction bidders, instead of collecting through their employees. The practice of letting the right of collecting slaughter house fees to the highest bidder in an auction, was prevalent even among the 2nd and 3rd grade Panchayats, except in places where Departmental collection and uniform rates existed as in Ramchandrapuram and Mandapeta in East Godavari and Tanuku in West Godavari. In Kistna and Vizagapatam Districts, auctioning of the right of collection of slaughter house fees was more in practice than their Departmental management, but the rates were more or less uniform. Even amongst

231 the Ceded Districts, most of the Panchayats followed the practice of 651 auctioning and that too on a very long term basis like 10 years or 5-10 years as in the case of Panchayats like Dharmavaram and Kadiri in Anantpuram District.

Several Panchayats besides these did not trouble themselves to create the facility of a slaughter house at all. Only a few minor Panchayats provided slaughter houses. (column 14.)

[443] 651 **Market Fees:** Public markets held in the Panchayat areas were usually of three types : daily, bi-weekly and weekly. The rates and the goods on which they should be imposed and collected were to be decided by the Panchayats while the process and actual collection was left to auction bidders who did the work of collecting these fees by issuing licence chits at the rates prescribed by the Panchayat Boards. Instances whe·e Panchayats themselves did the job of collection of these were hardly observable anywhere. Market collections were usually auctioned once a year to the highest bidder and he paid the amount in lump sum to the Panchayat.

The market fees and the variety of goods on which they were imposed varied from Panchayat to Panchayat, irrespective of differences and similarities in grade or place.

In Anantapur, the Guntakal and Kadiri Panchayats charged at a rate of 2 annas to dealers of necessities like salt, tamarind, chillies, tobacco, oil, fuel and potatoes, whereas rates varied between 2 and 4 annas in respect of other commodities like fruits, sweetmeat, vegetable, fish and even retail and grain shops. Truck loads were charged at 6 to 8 annas.

These differences were common not only to all major Panchayats, either in the Circars or the Ceded Districts, but, the same was the case even in the markets of minor Panchayats which had public markets as in Valluru, Yeditha, Kapileswarapuram, etc. in East Godavari District, Aravalli and Vasadi in West Godavari District, Gudur in Kistna District and Kothavalasa in Vizagapatam District. (colomn 10)

Again, the collection of the market fees from cattle, vegetable, grain and fruit markets were not always left for the use of the Panchayats, but the District Boards shared these proceeds and very often took the lion's share without any corresponding return to the Panchayat area in which these collections were earned. The share

364 Most of the major Panchayats with a few exceptions had their own sanitary staff, for the cleaning of private latrines and for the checking of the Food Adulteration. The roads were daily swept once and sometimes even twice. The Panchayats owned all the necessary contingencies and conservancy needs of the village. The Panchayats themselves appointed the Thotties, the sewage water and rubbish cart-men and paid them from the Panchayat funds. Cleaning of public latrines was also the Panchayat responsibility wherever they were provided either for the males or females. They extended the scavenging service to the private latrines by charging them at fixed rates. There were also instances where the scavengers were quite independent of Panchayats as in some villages like Bobbili, Parvatipuram, etc. in Vizagapatam where the private citizens engaged them exclusively, as scavengers refused to work under the Panchayats for one reason or other.

The sanitary inspectors, mistries and vaccinators helped the Panchayat in its local sanitary functions. They looked to the prevention of infectious diseases, inoculation, provision of dust-bins, chlorination of wells and tanks, drain and gutter clearance, etc. Registration of births and deaths was another obligation that was often looked after by these authorities.

But as the sanitary and conservancy staff was very poorly paid, a very satisfactory state of affairs could not naturally exist.

The Panchayats were not able to pay them more as even their existing salary bills tended to be burdensome to them.

As shown in the above table, most of the major Panchayats provided themselves with sanitary inspectors or mistries or vaccinators or the lady welfare attendants, but these did not go far enough to lift the village from its present morass. The observance of the D. N. O. licenses and checking up of food adulteration itself did not lead to much significant results.

231 **Slaughter Houses:** Construction of slaughter houses in the Panchayat areas for the sale of meat and flesh was also one of the obligatory duties of the Panchayats. Though the majority of the major Panchayats had provided this facility, still there were many Panchayats which had not done anything towards this obligation, while among the minor Panchayats, those that were undertaking this function were the exception rather than the rule, as in Kothapeta. Some of the major

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Panchayats surveyed had two slaughter houses each, one for sheep and the other for cattle and in a large number of cases, they were auctioned out rather than managed by Panchayat itself. 231

A significant irregularity in this instance was the twofold practice i. e. departmental management versus leasing out to private bidders. While the authorities of Local Boards desired departmental management of collection of receipts and supervision, some Panchayats had been evading this method for long by handing it over to private auctioneers with impunity and the Local Board Officials did nothing to check this growing practice especially more prevalent in the Ceded Districts than in the Northern Circars. Similarly they did nothing to enforce this obligation in many Panchayats which did nothing beyond the provision for construction of slaughter houses and passing resolutions to that effect in their meetings.

Parks: Parks were intended to cater to the recreation facilities of the public in the area of the Panchayat as it was one of its obligatory duties. 367 207

But the survey revealed no enthusiastic observance of this obligation even in the best and economically capable Panchayats. Most of the major Panchayats were practically negligent about it though a few 2nd and 3rd grade Panchayats and occasionally a minor Panchayat here and there had taken up this matter seriously. In East Godavari, Razole Panchayat had beautiful park with radio for listeners, while Panchayats like Nidadavol and Tanuku in West Godavari had only radios with loud speakers for listeners' convenience. In the Ceded Districts, Dharmavaram in Anantpur, Kampli in Bellary, Maddikera in Kurnool, and Yellamanchili in Vizagapatam District had nice parks while the majority of other major Panchayats had only radio sets. Most of the Minor Panchayats had no parks, except in stray cases as Achanta in East Godavari.

Public Markets: Construction of public markets was another of the obligatory duties of the Panchayats and was observed more in the breach than in practice. Though almost every major and minor Panchayat got a regular revenue from the vendors who got their goods for offering for sale, they were left to the mercies of sun and rain without the Panchayats ever bothering about providing them with any sort of regular permanent or semi-permanent sheds 443

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[For a general discussion of animal husbandry in India, see 6: Spate AW1 India, category 116, pp. 228-231.]

661 653 Even the major Panchayats with overseers and mistries, either left the budgeted plans unfinished, neglecting the roads on the plea that plans were not approved by the District Board or executed them in a haphazard piecemeal way by reducing all the estimates to an amount below Rs. 250/- which they could undertake. Some Panchayat budgets showed expenditure on roads, which were never laid but, when caught, sought to plead that they were spoiled by the time the inspecting authority could visit them. There were frauds in preparing the estimates, in the execution of contracts and in the accounts of the amounts shown as paid in the Panchayat budgets. These shady deals go unpunished for want of positive proof. Minor Panchayats portrayed better enthusiasm in the execution of their public works by the use of communal labour. However, to avoid much wastage of public money by the Panchayats more competent, honest and sincere supervising staff to look to their estimates and execution is essential. Corruption, delay and dilatory tactics should seriously be dealt with. Starting of Government Central Depots for storing and selling raw materials like lime, stone, tar, keel and other materials required for public works under Local Boards would mitigate to some extent the present evil of embezzlements of public funds. A close laison between the District Board and the Public Works Department to tighten up the supervision may also improve the position.

312 Though there is no acute water scarcity in the Circars as in the Ceded Districts there is need for providing protected water supply in Panchayats where there are no fresh water wells or to dig more wells where they are inadequate. While the Panchayats have not got resources to undertake this task, the District Boards and the State Government should take more interest.

744 364 Only some major Panchayats appointed sanitary inspectors, vaccinators, mid-wives and compounders to look after public health, scavengers and thotties to clean the roads, drains, gutters and latrines private and public. The sanitary inspectors looked to the enforcement of the Food Adulteration Act, supervision of the slaughter houses, prevention of infectious diseases, maintenance of the public health, sweeping of the roads, etc. with the assistance of the sanitary staff. But many Panchayats were not in a position to undertake most of these functions due to the lack of funds or difficulties in recruiting scavengers and thotties as in the case of Vizagapatam due to the low salaries paid.

231 Slaughter houses were found mostly in the minor and major Panchayats where even the right of collecting the receipts was

auctioned, while Government wanted them to be departmentally managed. 231

Parks for the public recreation were constructed only in a few Panchayats while the majority were indifferent. 367

Similarly market sites where fees were collected on sale of vegetables, grains or animals were mostly without stalls or sheds to shelter the sellers and buyers and the goods offered for sale. 443

Burning and burial grounds were not properly maintained either in the major or minor Panchayats. 764

Street lighting undertaken only by a few major Panchayats was left mostly to contractors who would light the streets hardly for a few hours. Panchayats did not undertake this task directly as they thought it was difficult to control and check the pilfering of kerosene oil, lights, wicks, burners, chimneys, etc. The remedy for that would be to get standardised and stamped goods for the use of Panchayats from Government Stores and to punish offenders mercilessly than to leave this function to the mercy of the contractors who would only be keen to charge the highest rates than giving proper service. 365

Provision of libraries and newspapers was undertaken only by very few Panchayats either due to lack of funds or sufficient interest. 217

Management of fairs and festivals was done by a few minor or major Panchayats, but, without exploiting their privileged position by means of a pilgrim tax or a tax on the vendors. 543

Optional functions like plantation of trees, provision of cart and bus stands, radio sets for listeners, help in epidemics, provision of dispensaries, etc. were done only by very few Panchayats. 623

The attendance of the members at the meetings of Panchayats was so irregular that there was often no quorum. Sometimes the Panchayats held no meetings at all for a long time or the members absented themslves continuously without any action being taken against them.

Panchayats were superseded and special officers were appointed to administer them for a year or two, when Panchayats could not work properly either due to local factions or opposition to taxation or any other undesirable features. Fresh Panchayat was ushered in only after the prevailing irregularities were removed and when the prospects of its smooth working were tolerably certain. 687 623

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249 is again let in once in three or four days. After a comparatively short space of time when the plants have grown, the heaps of earth separating the two rows of plants are made higher and broader. From that time onwards water is let in once in three or four days till the crop is full. After three months when the cane has grown, two or three stalks are bound together by means of its dried leaves. When the stalks are still higher once more they are tied together at the top. Then long rods with forked ends are planted in the ground and long bamboos are laid in a line with the trenches, resting in the forks and the canes are tied to them. In this way the binding goes on for about eight or nine months as the stalks grow longer and longer. When they are full they are cut and removed. The crop is carried about one year or a little more after the cultivator starts getting the land ready. The country wooden plough is used for all purposes, the other implements being yoke, picottah bucket made of leather and sometimes of iron, *yetham-bana,** *palikimanu*, *guntaka*, *gorru*, *palikiguntaka*, *mamoti*, reaping hook, shorthandled hoes.

231 *Stock*—

Working oxen	45	including paracheri.
Oxen not in a fit condition to work ...	65	
Male buffaloes	6	
Cow buffaloes	15	
Young stock of above species up to a year old	59	
Horses	...	
Donkeys and mules	4	
Sheep	47	
Goats	8	
Pigs	18	
Cows	85	

The cattle are of the well-known Punganur breed, rather light, but quick and active. The villagers breed cattle, and buy and sell in the cattle fair held annually in Punganur.

241 *Manuring.*—Most of the dung, about 90 per cent, is used as manure, the rest being utilized for household purposes.

237] Cattle urine is allowed to run to waste. The dung of goats, sheep, pigs, donkeys is used as manure.

Except the leaf of the kanaga tree, no green manure is used. This is obtained from topes planted many years ago. Sometimes it is taken on contract from the zamindar from the jungle all round.

There are practically no gardens, all the lands being used to grow grain. It is only now that beginnings are being made. Small plots of land are being planted with mango-grafts. The karnam of the village started this.

242 *Insect-pests.*—*Thellachida* affects generally paddy crop, eats away the leaves and stalks.

782 *Pethachida* affects all crops; consists of innumerable kinds of insects, eating away all the leaves.

Aggijadyam.—Paddy turns a vivid scarlet.

Kondapurirogam.—The worst pest affecting rice. The whole crop is consumed as by fire. The long stalks get shrivelled up to a ridiculously small length. To get a crop is impossible when once this sets in.

Locusts.—These destroy the crops.

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* Vide p. 105.

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Agriculture.—Area under each of the principal crops :— 241

	ACRES.		ACRES.
Paddy	123·17	Ragi	171·9
Sugarcane	4·21	Cholam (for cattle) ...	4·27
Coconut topes ...	2·11	Sazzulu	0·27
Other fruit trees and scattered shade trees	11·21	Chamulu	6·36
Betel gardens ...	1·4	Gram	8·30
Plantain	4·22	Dholl	6·31
Mango	1·0	Groundnut	12·15
		Castor seeds	2·4
		Other crops	18·10

Out of the dry land, nearly 250 acres yield only one crop per annum, about 60 acres two crops. Almost all of the wet land yields two crops. There is no land yielding three crops per annum.

The methods of cultivation are the same as in Thettupalli in the Chittoor district of the Madras Presidency.

Implements.—In one house only an iron plough * is used. The rest use the country plough made of wood. 407

Other agricultural implements used are yoke, picottah, *yethambana*, hoe, *guntaka, donthi, pandluminu, gorru, palikiguntaka, mamoti*, scythe and other minor implements. 412

The *gorru* is a seed-drill, with a bowl to put the seed in, and bamboo tubes to distribute it. The *guntaka* is a six-bladed harrow, the *palikiguntaka* a twelve-bladed harrow. The *donthi* is a log of wood with twenty wooden teeth, each 5 inches long and half an inch thick, with a curved contrivance at the end of the handle which the driver holds against his stomach. It is used for powdering the soil. The *pandluminu* is a variety of the same.

Stock— 231 •

Oxen	144	
Cows	111	
Male-buffaloes	...	
Cow-buffaloes	5	(These do not thrive well here).
Young stock of above species.	103	
Horses	4	
Donkeys	15	
Mules	...	
Sheep	27	
Goats	14	
Pigs	4	

In the mornings cows are fed with grass, gram well pounded with the addition of water and rice bran. Then they are let out to graze in the fields. In the evening they receive the same as in the morning and oil-cake. They are also fed with rice straw and ragi straw. Sometimes cholam also is used and its stalks.

Bulls receive almost the same as cows, but are given less of green grass. Gram is fried and made into flour and then used; also Bengal gram and oil cake.

[* The Mysore State Department of Agriculture manufactures and sells cheap and handy iron ploughs. The general use of these would be of immense advantage on dry land.—Ed.] 654

231 Horses are fed on grass and gram chiefly, sometimes also on oats and bran.

237 *Manuring.*—Nearly 90 per cent of the cow-dung is used as manure, the rest being used for household purposes.

Almost all the cattle urine is allowed to run to waste except trifling quantities used for household purposes.

241 The green manure chiefly used is the leaf of the Kanaga tree. Generally all kinds of green leaf are held to be good manure. This is obtained chiefly from the surrounding jungle, licences being obtained on payment of a fee to the Maharaja's Government. Sometimes topes are planted for the purpose.

No other kinds of vegetable manure are largely used. In some cases, for instance in the cultivation of sugarcane, the refuse left after the oil has been squeezed out from the fruit of the Kanaga tree is used.

232 Insect-pests and cattle diseases and the method of combating them are the same as in Thettupalli.[1]

361 *The village.*—The village occupies an area of 9·36 acres. The tendency is for the members of one caste to congregate together. For example all the Muhammadans live in one part of the village together. The Komatis live exclusively in one street.

342 The depressed classes live in dirty and squalid huts of but one room.

There are in the caste village 85 thatched houses, none tiled, 63 terraced; in the Paracheri, only thatched houses 31 in number. There are no gardens adjoining any of the dwellings. The fields lie adjoining and surrounding the village. The most distant field lies about three-quarters of a mile off.

There is a great demand for additional building sites.

435 If land is obtained direct from the Government a fee of ½ anna per square yard is charged, payable on sale. If dry land is acquired for the purpose from pattadars, the value ranges from Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 per acre. It is only near this village that the value is so low. Further up the value goes up to nearly Rs. 300 or Rs. 350.

463 *Subsidiary industries.*—There are only two pariahs who weave at all. They use two handlooms.

[281] No hand spinning is practised. Yarn is bought ready made. The other crafts are—

Crafts.	Average time.	Earnings per year.	Remarks.
Blacksmith.	The major part of the day.	About Rs. 300 a year.	He receives customary mamûls. At harvest time gets about 10 puttis of paddy. There are also inams in his name.
Potter ...	The major part of the day and almost throughout the year.	About Rs. 100 a year.	Do.
Carpenter ...	For the major part of the year.	About Rs. 150 a year.	No mamûls.

438 *Village trade—Purchase of commodities by the village.*—Wood for implements is got from the forests already mentioned. Iron

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1 [See category 116, pp. 99-100. — Analyst]

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Sandy tracts with palmyras fetch a rent of Rs. 10 per acre, without trees, Rs. 2 or 3 only; black clay Rs. 15 to 16 per acre. 427

The black clay land sells at about Rs. 350 per acre, the red sand at about Rs. 150. But the price has fallen now owing to two bad harvests. 435

Stock. 231

	By official information.	Non-official.
Working oxen	539	800 about.
Cows	412	600 „
Male buffaloes	6	14 „
Cow buffaloes	184	200 „
Young stock—buffaloes	208	250 „
Do. cows	637	650 to 700
Horses	...	...
Donkeys and mules	...	...
Sheep	58	61
Goats	225	200
Pigs	100	...

According to the census of 1900 and 1910 they were—

	1900.	1910.
Bullocks and he-buffaloes	650	545
Cows	580	412
She-buffaloes	171	184
Young stock	802	845
Sheep and goats	778	283

The straw of cholam and paddy is reserved for the summer feed of cattle; in the rainy season the green grass of the common pasture is available. Each ryot reserves one or two fields for pasture for his cattle. In days of heavy work, the bullocks are given cooked horsegram mixed with the husk of paddy, and the fine dust from the grain which is mixed with it in husking. Cotton seeds are also cooked and given for food; and oil cake, especially for milch cows. Ryots who have insufficient pasture send some of their cattle to the Agency tracts for the three months, July to September; they are charged Rs. 3 or 5 per pair.

Only about 50 per cent of the cattle-dung is used as manure, 241
the rest is used for fuel. The average ryot applies six to eight [237]
cart-loads of dung per acre; besides the manure of the cattle kept
in fields at nights. He accumulates a stock at home throughout
the year and applies it at the end of the year to the fields.

No green manure or chemical manure is used.

Garden cultivation has been tried as an experiment with water-
supply from a well, lifted by a water pump got from Bombay.
Lemons and plantains are planted. The pump required some slight [176]
repairs, which were delayed for want of a mechanic near by. The
garden too has not yet proved to be decidedly profitable; and all
the villagers laugh at it as an innovation.

241
Cost of cultivation.—The following is an account of the expendi-
ture for ten acres of an average ryot, obtained from four ryots. 435